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**The discursive construction of separation: a study of catalan
and Southern Cameroonian independence movements**

**La construcción discursiva de la separación: el caso de los
movimientos independentistas de Cataluña y Southern
Cameroons**

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movimientos independentistas de Cataluña y Southern
Cameroons.

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ABSTRACT

Introduction

This write-up describes the extent to which secessionist movements use language to create a gap between members of their community and other citizens of the countries they are politically part of. It sets out to investigate the use of language as a weapon in the political war secessionists groups in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons wage. More specifically, this work investigates the different linguistic strategies used to construct separate Catalan and Southern Cameroonian identities and goes on to compare both sets of strategies in order to identify possible similarities and differences that may emerge when going from one group to another.

This research work was built on various hypotheses, that is, one general and two specific ones. The general assumption which guided this work is that there are more similarities than differences between the linguistic strategies used by Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence activists. Furthermore, we assumed that the fight for independence in both territories is not motivated only by political and cultural reasons, but also by economic ones. Then, we implied that differences between Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse could only be the result of political, geographical and cultural differences between both territories.

1. Methodology and corpus

Mindful of the above, the project was conducted within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis. Ruth Wodak et al's (1999) Discourse Historical Approach was found suitable for this research because it pays much attention to the construction of national identity. In addition to this, the Discourse-Historical Approach has the advantage of giving, not just a linguistic, but also a historical interpretation to pieces of discourse, which in both the Catalan and Cameroonian situation is very important. We also decided to include some aspects of

Chilton's Discourse Space Model to describe how space is created and enforced in secessionist discourse

As concerns corpus, we decided to focus solely on political discourse, which according to van Dijk (1997:13) involves text and talk from recognized politicians, as well as the discursive reaction of other citizens, pressure group members and other dissidents. Having van Dijk's specification in mind, a corpus made up of 15 speeches from Artur Mas (the President of the Catalan "Generalitat" at the beginning of this research endeavour), as well as 13 political speeches and 5 open letters from major Southern Cameroonian independence activists were selected to be further studied. We limited our analysis to text produced between 2010 and 2015. These pieces of data were analysed qualitatively and quantitatively using Antconc.

2. Results

Following our research work, we realised that in both Catalonia and Southern Cameroons, independence activists make use of the five macro-strategies mentioned by Wodak et al. More specifically, we found that in the two independence movements being studied, singularisation, autonomisation, unification and cohesivation, assimilation, inclusion and continuation, as well as justification are fully resorted to.

Singularisation strategies are based on the topos of idyllic place and the topos of comparison, and built mainly on nomination and predication. Singularisation strategies are used by nationalist leaders in both Catalonia and Southern Cameroons to present their territory in a very positive way and are enforced in discourse by the use of linguistic resources such as positive adjectives, comparison (comparatives and superlatives), and even storytelling. The foregoing notwithstanding, we noted that Southern Cameroonians' praise of their territory is limited to when it was still under British rule, while Artur Mas praises Catalonia's past and present. Moreover, singularisation is not as developed in Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse as it is in Artur Mas's.

As concerns autonomisation strategies, nationalist leaders in the territories we studied resort to them in order to create a clear separation between their nations and the countries they are politically part of. This is achieved in both territories by the use of toponyms and demonyms which fall within nomination and predication strategies. More specifically, in Catalan independence speeches, Catalonia is not a region of Spain, but rather a distinct entity, and so are its citizens. What is more, Spain is a mere political construct, a State (“L’Estat”) and not a nation. Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders are also motivated by the desire to present their territory as a separate entity when they differentiate between Southern Cameroons or Ambazonia and “La République du Cameroun”. The toponyms (and demonyms deriving from them), as well as the languages they appear in, say much about the distinct nature of both territories.

Both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian leaders are well aware of the fact that their struggle for independence can only succeed if backed by the people. Therefore, they resort to unification and cohesivation strategies. These strategies are underpinned linguistic strategies such as nomination (in-group/out-group separation) and common place arguments such as comparison, threat, usefulness. In both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse, deontic modality is the main linguistic strategy used to enforce unification and cohesivation. Artur Mas and his Southern Cameroonian counterparts often make use of imperatives, deontic modals and other deontic constructions to enjoin their people to join the struggle, while warning and threatening those who are lagging behind.

Though they make sure they encourage their people to join the struggle for independence, nationalist leaders in the territories under study also want to paint a picture of a fully united and homogeneous people when describing their nations. Assimilation and inclusion strategies hover around nomination and predication strategies as well as topoi such as unity or same boat/train. These ideas are made manifest in discourse by linguistic resources like metaphor

and metonymy, personification, or lexemes denoting unity. In addition to presenting their nations as fully united Artur Mas and his fellow Southern Cameroonian counterparts also emphasize the fact that the struggle for independence started before them and that they are just taking over from previous generations. Continuation in both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse is evidenced by overwhelming presence of the topos of history as a teacher. This notwithstanding, Artur Mas has much more to say about continuation than his Southern Cameroonian counterparts, as Southern Cameroons is a rather recent construct.

Finally, one of the major aims of substate nationalist pieces of discourse is to give a number of reasons why a given self-determination struggle should be backed. Justification strategies are exactly meant for that. Though Artur Mas and Southern Cameroonian leaders make use of justification, they articulate them differently. Artur Mas's justification is based on the topos of democracy and economic welfare. The Catalan leader often resorts to statistics from authoritative figures to prove his points. Southern Cameroonian leaders on the other hand emphasize legality, human rights and religion in a bid to justify the struggle for independence. To achieve that, they resort to storytelling and also make use of intertextuality, by quoting legal or religious texts which supposedly justify their struggle.

Conclusion

Our findings have confirmed the hypothesis we formulated at the beginning of our work. In fact, both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence activists make use of the same strategies to build national identity in their territories. Moreover, national identity construction in these territories is not only motivated by historical and cultural reasons, but also by economic factors. The only differences which we were able to identify came as a result of the distinct geographical, political, cultural background of the territories at stake.

RESUMEN

Introducción

Esta tesis describe hasta qué punto los movimientos separatistas utilizan el lenguaje para crear una brecha entre los miembros de su comunidad y los ciudadanos de los países de los que forman parte. Se propone investigar el uso del lenguaje como arma en las batallas políticas que tienen los grupos independentistas, en Cataluña y en Southern Cameroons. Más específicamente, este trabajo investiga las diferentes estrategias lingüísticas utilizadas para construir identidades distintas en Cataluña y Southern Cameroons, y compara ambos conjuntos de estrategias para identificar posibles similitudes y diferencias que pueden surgir al pasar de un grupo a otro.

Este trabajo de investigación se basó en varias hipótesis; una general y dos específicas. La suposición general que guió este trabajo es que existen más similitudes que diferencias entre las estrategias lingüísticas utilizadas por los activistas independentistas catalanes y los de Southern Cameroons. Además, asumimos que la lucha por la independencia en ambos territorios no está motivada sólo por razones políticas y culturales, sino también por razones económicas. Luego, supusimos que las diferencias entre el discurso nacionalista camerunés y el catalán sólo podrían ser resultado de las diferencias políticas, geográficas y culturales entre ambos territorios.

1. Metodología y corpus

Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, el proyecto se llevó a cabo en el marco del Análisis crítico del discurso. El enfoque histórico-discursivo de Ruth Wodak et al (1999), resultó adecuado para esta investigación porque analiza de forma particular la construcción de la identidad nacional. Además de esto, el enfoque histórico-discursivo tiene la ventaja de dar no sólo una interpretación lingüística, sino también la interpretación histórica de los discursos, que tanto en la situación catalana como en la camerunesa son muy importantes. También decidimos

incluir algunos aspectos de la aproximación discursiva espacial de Chilton para describir cómo se crea y se fomenta el espacio en el discurso separatista.

Con respecto al corpus, decidimos centrarnos únicamente en el lenguaje político que, según van Dijk (1997: 13), incluye textos y comentarios de políticos reconocidos, así como la reacción lingüística de otros ciudadanos, miembros de grupos de presión y otros disidentes. Teniendo en cuenta la especificación de van Dijk, un corpus compuesto por 15 discursos de Artur Mas (el presidente de la Generalitat catalana al comienzo de este trabajo de investigación), así como 13 discursos políticos y 5 cartas abiertas de los mayores activistas independentistas de Southern Cameroons, fueron seleccionados para ser estudiados a fondo. Limitamos nuestro análisis a textos producidos entre 2010 y 2015. Estos datos se analizaron cualitativa y cuantitativamente utilizando Antconc.

2. Resultados

Después del trabajo de investigación que llevamos a cabo, hemos podido ver que tanto en Cataluña como en Southern Cameroons, los activistas por la independencia hacen uso de las cinco macro estrategias mencionadas por Wodak et al. Más concretamente, encontramos en los dos movimientos independentistas estrategias de singularización, autonomización, unificación y cohesión, asimilación, inclusión y continuación, así como estrategias de justificación.

Las estrategias de singularización se manifiestan en el topos del lugar idílico y el topos de comparación, y se basan principalmente en la nominación y la predicación. Las estrategias de singularización son utilizadas por los líderes nacionalistas, tanto en Cataluña como en Southern Cameroons, para presentar su territorio de una manera muy positiva, y se ven en los textos mediante el uso de recursos lingüísticos como adjetivos positivos, la comparación (comparativos y superlativos) e incluso la narración. A pesar de lo anterior, notamos que los independentistas de Southern Cameroons elogian su territorio solamente cuando todavía

estaba bajo dominio británico, mientras que Artur Mas elogia el pasado y el presente de Cataluña. Además, la singularización no está tan desarrollada en los discursos de Southern Cameroons como en los de Cataluña.

En cuanto a las estrategias de autonomización, los líderes nacionalistas en los territorios que estudiamos recurren a ellas para construir una separación clara entre sus naciones y los países de los que forman parte. Esto se logra en ambos territorios mediante el uso de topónimos y gentilicios que caen dentro de las estrategias de nominación y predicación. Más específicamente, en los discursos de independencia catalanes, Cataluña no es una región de España, sino una entidad distinta, y también lo son sus ciudadanos. Además, se considera a España como una mera construcción política, un estado ("L'Estat") y no como una nación. Los líderes nacionalistas de Southern Cameroons también están motivados por el deseo de presentar su territorio como una entidad separada cuando diferencian entre Southern Cameroons o Ambazonia y "La République du Cameroun". Los topónimos (y gentilicios que se derivan de ellos), así como los idiomas en los que aparecen, nos dan más información sobre la naturaleza distinta de ambos territorios.

Tanto los líderes catalanes como los de Southern Cameroons son conscientes de que su lucha por la independencia sólo puede tener éxito si cuenta con el respaldo del pueblo. Por lo tanto, recurren a estrategias de unificación y cohesión. Estas estrategias están respaldadas por estrategias lingüísticas como la nominación (separación entre los de dentro y los de fuera) y argumentos de lugar común como la comparación, la amenaza, la utilidad. Tanto en el discurso catalán como en el de Southern Cameroons, la modalidad deóntica es la principal estrategia lingüística utilizada para imponer la unificación y la cohesión. Artur Mas y sus colegas de Southern Cameroons suelen hacer uso del imperativo, de los modales deónticos y otras construcciones deónticas para obligar a su gente a unirse a la lucha, mientras advierten y amenazan a los que se están quedando atrás.

Aunque se aseguran que animan a la gente a unirse a la lucha por la independencia, los líderes nacionalistas en los territorios bajo estudio también quieren darnos la imagen de un pueblo totalmente unido y homogéneo al describir sus naciones. Las estrategias de asimilación e inclusión giran alrededor de las estrategias de nominación y predicación, así como argumentos de lugar común (topoi), como la unidad o el mismo barco /tren. Estas ideas se manifiestan en los textos a través de recursos lingüísticos, como la metáfora y la metonimia, la personificación o lexemas que denotan unidad. Además de presentar a sus naciones como unidas, Artur Mas y sus colegas de Southern Cameroons, también enfatizan en el hecho de que la lucha por la independencia comenzó antes que ellos y que simplemente están tomando el relevo de generaciones anteriores. La continuidad en los textos procedentes de Cataluña y de Southern Cameroons se evidencia por la omnipresencia del topos de la historia como maestro. A pesar de esto, Artur Mas tiene mucho más que decir sobre continuación que sus contrapartes de Southern Cameroons, ya que la nación de Southern Cameroons es una construcción bastante reciente.

Finalmente, uno de los objetivos principales del discurso nacionalista subestatal, es dar una serie de razones por las cuales se debe respaldar una determinada lucha de autodeterminación. Las estrategias de justificación sirven exactamente para eso. Aunque Artur Mas y los líderes de Southern Cameroons hacen uso de la justificación, lo articulan de manera diferente. La justificación en los discursos de Artur Mas se basa en los topos de la democracia y el bienestar económico. Muchas veces, el líder catalán recurre a una gran cantidad de estadísticas procedentes de fuentes autorizadas para justificar sus ideas. Por otro lado, los líderes de Southern Cameroons enfatizan la legalidad, los derechos humanos y la religión con el fin de justificar la lucha por la independencia. Para lograrlo, recurren a la narración y también hacen uso de la intertextualidad, al citar textos legales o religiosos que supuestamente justifican su lucha.

Conclusión

Los resultados que hemos obtenido confirman la hipótesis que formulamos al comienzo de este trabajo. De hecho, tanto los activistas por la independencia de Cataluña como los de Southern Cameroons hacen uso de las mismas estrategias para construir la identidad nacional en sus respectivos territorios. Además, la construcción de la identidad nacional en estos territorios no solo está motivada por razones históricas y culturales, sino también por factores económicos. Las únicas diferencias que pudimos identificar surgieron a causa de los distintos antecedentes geográficos, políticos y culturales de ambos territorios.

Chapter 1 General Introduction

1.1 Language, discourse and society

Speech has always been a very important socialization aspect amongst human beings, as evidenced by the works of the founding fathers of rhetoric, who, centuries before Christ, could already study how speech was used for various purposes, going beyond mere communication. It is from this perspective that Aristotle (1353a, 1-18), already stated that speech is the ability that distinguishes us from other animals, as confirmed in the following,

But obviously man is a political animal in a sense which a bee is not, or any gregarious animal. Nature, we say, does nothing without purpose; and she has endowed man alone with the power of speech. Speech is something different from voice, which is possessed by other animals, and used by them to express pain or pleasure... (Quoted in Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012:18-19)

Aristotle then goes on to indicate that it is the very ability to produce speech which enables humans to deliberate on what is good or bad, fair or unfair. By so doing, he establishes a very clear link between politics and speech, which in CDA terminology is not very different from discourse. From Aristotle to Fairclough, the study of language in society evolved, but maintained one of its major facets, the description of the extent to which language can be used not only to convey a message but to manipulate, construct identities, in short create a world. In fact, language is not only voice, articulation and, or writing, but it is also an aspect of discourse, which is mainly social. Moreover, Wodak (2008: 2-3) makes it clear in her definition of discourse that the latter even goes beyond language, to include other societal features such as historical monuments, lieu de mémoire, policies or political strategies. Whatever the case, it goes without saying that even when language is not the main issue at stake, it definitely plays a part. This is why historical monuments and lieux de memoire often include language, in the form of description, eulogies or epitaphs. These are not mere texts, but powerful pieces of discourse worthy of careful attention. Many at times, they actually give life to the monument or lieu de mémoire they describe. In the same vein, policies are

always enforced by language. In fact, their very nature makes them useful only when they are communicated to members of society, and the only way to achieve this is through language. The above can only lead us to a clear conclusion: It is almost impossible to dissociate language from society. It is this interwoven nature of language and society that made Critical Discourse Analysis a linguistic study approach, which obviously draws much material from other fields, such as history, political science, sociology, etc.

Language is thus a very important part of society and plays a key role in keeping stability but also in creating change. Many at times, the very existence of the nation depends on language. In fact, most of the nation states that exist nowadays have language as one of the strongest in-group markers, as well as other historical, folk and religious knowledge, which is transmitted linguistically. As Anderson (1991-2006:6) states, all social organizations, be they small villages or large countries, are imagined and enforced through language. This is why Anderson links the origin of modern European nationalism to the birth of print. According to him, before the invention of print, there was a high level of linguistic uniformity in Europe, and this had the effect of keeping various European confederations practically united. Nevertheless, with the advent of print more works in vernaculars became available, thus creating a sense of brotherhood between speakers of those languages, who, though they did not always know one another, started feeling that they had a common destiny. This is why Anderson calls them *imagined communities*. Religion for example can be a very important social phenomenon through which language passes in order to consolidate identity. For instance, The Holy Roman Empire could only survive for so many years thanks to Latin, which, in addition to being the language of the high class, was seen as a divine vernacular, in which the Holy Scriptures were embedded. Knowing Latin not only meant allegiance to the authorities, but also reverence to God. This is even true (though to a lesser extent) of Muslims from the entire world, who, although they do not speak the same mother tongue, feel united

through the Qur'an, which is often written in Classical Arabic, a language which they all have passive knowledge of. This Holy Book of Islam contains historical knowledge, regulations and principles, which when learned and applied by its readers will have the effect of creating a similar lifestyle and patterns of thought, thus enforcing a sense of belonging amongst them (See Anderson, 1991-2006: 12-13).

We may therefore conclude by saying that the existence of social communities is not something to be taken for granted, but rather the consequence of efforts at constructing such communities, and rallying all their members together. In this situation, language is often used as a weapon to enforce such a situation.

Based on the above conclusion, we decided to carry out this academic endeavour which is a Critical Discourse Analysis of the linguistic construction of national identity amongst two minority national groups, namely Catalans in Spain and Anglophones in Cameroon. It arose from the fact that, after having observed such groups for years, we realized that though geography and history set many of them apart, secessionist groups around the world often resort to the same discursive strategies to present their plight and lobby for recognition. The year 2014, which marked the beginning of this research endeavour, was one of the years with the highest number of secessionist activities around the world. In fact, the events in Catalonia, Eastern Ukraine, Hong Kong, Scotland, Cyrenaica (Libya), just to mention a few were constantly being discussed in the media. These events developed in us the desire to study the Southern Cameroonian independence struggle, which led to the production of a Master's Dissertation on the topic¹. Nevertheless, for practical reasons (time and space constraints) we could not really get into an in depth analysis of the issue at stake, that's why we decided to carry further research work into substate nationalism, adding Catalonia, and getting deeper into the previously studied Southern Cameroonian issue. Before clearly stating

¹ Echitchi, S. (2014). The discursive formation of nationalism: A study of the Anglophone secessionist movements in Cameroon. Unpublished MA dissertation. Universidad Complutense de Madrid

the problem discussed in this work it is worth considering some of the words and phrases that are pervasive here.

- **Nation**

Defining nation has always been one of the most difficult and diverse enterprises in scholarship. In fact, from Renan's contrastive definition of the German and the French understanding of nation, several scholars have tried to add flesh or totally discard Renan's definitions, which are commonly accepted as the groundwork of definitions of nationalism. In fact, in his 1882 lecture, Renan argued that nation could be understood in terms of genetics and language as the Germans did, but also in terms of the conscious decision of people to belong to the group, whether or not they have linguistic, genetic and cultural affinities. The French therefore saw nation as "un plébiscite de tous les jours"- a daily decision. Advocates of the German definition of nation would therefore talk about nations in terms of ethnicity or race. This idea of the nation has often challenged the definition of the nation as a free association of people within countries, thus causing many territorial disputes and wars as evidenced by Hitler's desire to unite all countries having a considerable ethnic German population, Putin's annexation of Crimea and the war in Eastern Ukraine, the birth of the so-called Islamic State's in the Arab World. Nevertheless, as Manent (2007: 23) suggests, both the German and the French conceptualisations of nation are to be considered when trying to give a comprehensive definition for the term. To him, "a nation is first of all a motherland or a *vaterland*, a *patrie*. The specific work of the nation is to join and as it were to fuse the brute facts of birth with the free adhesion of the heart and mind." Taking the foregoing into consideration, the nation is a group of individuals viewing themselves as part of the same group by dint of alleged racial, historical, geographical and cultural ties. Nation is therefore very abstract and subject to all sorts of manipulations, as it is basically tied to the individual

and how he relates to other individuals around him. Nation is thus very close to identity, which is defined below.

- **Identity**

Identity is a word which can be understood on a more personal level, as well as on a collective one. Identity comes from the latin word *idem*, denoting similarity. Nevertheless, as Buckingham (2008:1) notes, it shouldn't be understood only in terms of similarity but also difference. Identity is what makes an individual different from others (personal identity), it is also what causes people to congregate based on what they have in common (nation, gender, sexual orientation, culture, religion), thus forming a collective identity. These groups of people sharing the same identity (or identities) may thus use the shared characteristics to distinguish themselves from other groups of people. Given that this work discusses a group of people and not specific individuals we are going to retain the collective definition of identity, namely, the features members of a specific group share or claim to share, thus making them fit into their group and distinct from other groups.

One of the setbacks of the construction of identity is assimilation. In fact, many at times, the desire to form a homogeneous group leads people to obliterate the personal differences that exist between them, using subtle or even overt methods. This assimilation, which spans from the fact that all groups are to some extent imagined or created (Anderson, 1991), may be welcomed by individuals or rejected.

- **Sub-state nationalism**

Before defining sub-state nationalism, it is worth-looking at the definition of the most important word in the phrase, namely *nationalism*. Nationalism as Beland and Lecour (2006: 79) note, is defined as “the expression of a special sense of solidarity among people”. This solidarity is often the result of members of a community emphasizing a common ancestry, the same linguistic and other cultural practices and common expectations for the future

(Hastings, 1997). Nevertheless, it has since been proven that nationalism is a mere social construct which is enforced through education and other aspects of national life such as military service and public service (Gellner, 1983). It is this process that led to the formation of modern-day nation states (Anderson, 1991). Throughout history, the construction of nationalism often entailed attempts at annihilating or assimilating minority cultural or ethnic groups. Nevertheless, complete assimilation was not always achieved, thus the birth of what the so-called sub-state nationalism. In other words, sub-state nationalism refers to (the construction of) a sense of unity and solidarity among a minority group within a nation state. These minority groups' main agenda is to foster their singularity and distinctiveness from the majority group and therefore claim their right to consideration, self-determination and even independence.

- **Discourse**

Given its very broad nature, this word has been understood and interpreted in different ways across countries and schools of thought. As Mills (1997:1) notes, "it has perhaps the widest range of possible significations of any term in literary and cultural theory". In linguistics, definitions of discourse have often been characterised by attempts at distinguishing it from text. Hence, the definitions of discourse as "naturally occurring spoken language" (Crystal, 1987, cited in Mills 1997:3) or "linguistic communication seen as a transaction between speaker and hearer" (Leech and Short, cited in Hawthorn, 1992: 189), which give the feeling that discourse only refers to spoken language. Other definitions of discourse have however moved away from its alleged purely spoken or oral nature to emphasize its relation with ideology. This is the case of Roger Fowler's definition, whose relevance to this work cannot be overemphasized.

"Discourse" is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies; these beliefs etc. constitute a way of looking at the world, an organization or representation of experience - "ideology" in the neutral non-pejorative sense. Different modes of discourse encode different representations of experience; and the

source of these representations the communicative context within which the discourse is embedded.(quoted in Mills 1997: 6)

The definition which therefore fits this work is that of discourse as the way one's perception of the world is expressed through language, be it text or talk.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Sub-state nationalism always spans from the fact that modern nations were mostly built around the nucleus of majority social groups at the expense of minorities that might have existed within them. These minorities were often compelled to change their cultural habits in order to conform to the majority group and therefore achieve the idea of a homogeneous nation state. Nevertheless, as a reaction to discourses of assimilation, members of the minority groups started producing discourses of resistance, advocating various degrees of autonomy or even independence, like the secessionist groups to be studied in this work. To be more specific, Catalonia and Southern Cameroons are, as shall be seen in subsequent chapters, territories of two internationally recognized countries, Spain and Cameroon respectively. Historical reasons have made it that inhabitants of these regions have cultural and linguistic traits which make them different from the majority of citizens in the countries where they are found. In both territories, pressure from majority groups has caused the rise of dissidents whose major goal is independence.

Nevertheless, independence cannot be achieved without having constructed and enforced difference and separation. As a matter of fact, independence leaders of the territories at stake have manifested a desire to convince their fellow group-members that they are distinct from the others by discarding discourses of unity and producing discourses of separation. Therefore, it is no surprise that the leaders of independence movements in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons have been producing a lot of pieces of discourse whose objective is to resist mainstream ideas of national unity and cohesion and to consolidate sub-national uniqueness, separation and independence.

It is very important to note that sub-state nationalist activists in the two territories at stake often operate in a rather difficult political environment. In fact, in both Catalonia and Southern Cameroons discourses of unity have been spread for years (and even centuries) to the extent of being fossilized in those territories². Fighting for separation therefore means destroying an old order of things, and could not possibly go without causing reaction from those opposed to such ideas. In the case of Southern Cameroons, the central government refused to grant any legal status to Anglophone independence movements, claiming that Cameroon is one and indivisible, and that the independence of any part of the country is not even to be considered. In Catalonia, nationalist parties have been free to express themselves, at least since the advent of democracy (Béjar, 2010). Nevertheless, they have always faced a huge portion of the population, and members of the Spanish central government who believe that Spain should remain united in its diversity, and, as Lanz (2016: 42) notes, even shy away from explicitly recognising Catalonia as a minority which has rights to self determination (For more on this see Lanz, 2016). As a matter of fact, though Spain is a constitutional monarchy upholding cultural and political pluralism, the country is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish nation, the common and indivisible country of all Spaniards (Article 2, 1978 Constitution)³. Though we shall come back to this in the subsequent chapters, it is worth noting that it is the presence of this opposing sides which creates a war of words as evidenced by various pieces of discourse being spread using various means. At this juncture, it is worthy to mention the impact the Internet has had in the proliferation of secessionist ideas both in Catalonia and in Southern Cameroons. In fact, it is online that we collected the various pieces of discourse discussing the hereby-mentioned problem (Data collection is further discussed in Chapter 3). These pieces of discourse have taken the form of political

² See Amoros i Pla, 2009; Koenig and Nyamjoh, 1997

³ “La Constitución se fundamenta en la indisoluble unidad de la Nación española, patria común e indivisible de todos los españoles, y reconoce y garantiza el derecho a la autonomía de las nacionalidades y regiones que la integran y la solidaridad entre todas ellas.” (Artículo 2, Título Preliminar, Constitución Española) <https://www.boe.es/legislacion/documentos/ConstitucionCASTELLANO.pdf> (accessed on 05/12/2017)

speeches, columns, open letters and regulatory documents, just to name a few. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this work, only speeches and open letters shall be studied. Though subsequent chapters will give in-depth reason for such a choice, we may say now that only speeches were to be analyzed, but given the scarcity of speeches from Southern Cameroons, we decided to include open letters, which share most of the characteristics of speeches, and do not move away from the general objectives of the groups fighting for independence in that territory.

1.3 Objectives, hypotheses and research questions

1.3.1 Objectives

The research journey we are embarking on is therefore aimed at describing how the secessionist movements in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons use language to create a gap between members of their community and other citizens of the countries they are politically part of. Based on the idea that “language is a form a political action” (van Dijk, 1997), this write-up sets out to investigate the use of language as a weapon in the political war secessionists groups in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons wage.

More specifically, this work is aimed at investigating the different linguistic strategies used to construct separate Catalan and Southern Cameroonian identities respectively and goes on to compare both sets of strategies in order to identify the possible similarities and differences that may emerge when going from one group to another.

1.3.2. Hypotheses

- **General hypothesis: There could be more similarities than differences between Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse.**

At this juncture, preliminary investigation led us to the assumption that there may be very many similarities between the Southern Cameroonian and Catalan construction of separation, and that the differences that exist between the groups might be the result of distinct historical,

cultural, linguistic, geographic and economic backgrounds. Moreover, the level of organization of the groups at stake and their relationship with the state (whether they are legal or not) could also account for a great deal of pragmatic differences between Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalists .

To be more specific, Catalonia and Southern Cameroons are similar in the fact that both territories are found at the periphery of specific countries (Spain and Cameroon respectively) and are different from the rest of citizens when it comes to language, history and some cultural aspects. To begin with Southern Cameroons, it was a British protectorate and its population became highly influenced by the British lifestyle, including language, education, law, etc., whereas the rest of Cameroon as a former French protectorate abides more by French standards when it comes to language, education and law. Southern Cameroonian nationalists therefore feel that their Anglo-Saxon historical heritage is being threatened by the French-speaking majority. This feeling comes from the fact that Cameroon is a highly centralized state governed by a government reflecting the mostly French-speaking nature of the country. As a matter of fact, Anglophones only make up about 25 per cent of the country's overall population, and suffer from low representation in decision-making organs. This low representation also entails the domination of the French language over the English language, and therefore a higher pressure on Anglophone Cameroonians to assimilate to the Francophone way of life (Fochingong, 2013). When it comes to Catalonia, it is the same in the sense that we are dealing with people, who, for centuries have kept a distinct cultural identity and have resisted Castilian assimilation, but who feel that their centuries-old culture, customs and traditions are being threatened by Spain. This is why they are fighting for total independence. As a matter of fact, a good portion of catalans feel that it is only independence which is going to make them efficiently maintain their centuries-old culture, language and identity.

- **Specific hypothesis 1: the fight for independence in both territories might have been motivated not only by historical and cultural factors but also by economic reasons.**

This work is also based on the hypothesis that, as opposed to what many a researcher may think, the fight for Independence might not be based only on cultural and historical considerations, but also on economic ones. In fact, it appears that Catalans and Southern Cameroonians have the feeling that they are not benefitting from the many resources they have, but that these are squandered by the governments of their respective countries or used to develop other regions.

Southern Cameroons is one of Cameroon's richest regions, as most of the country's oil industry is located there, around the Bakassi Peninsular. Moreover, Southern Cameroons is endowed with large agricultural estates, which make the region one of the country's bread-baskets, as well as the source of major agricultural exports. Nevertheless, as seen Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997), Southern Cameroonian nationalists feel their territory is neglected by the Cameroon central government, and believe that only complete independence might give them more control over how their wealth is managed. As concerns Catalonia, it is the Spanish region with the highest GDP, thanks mainly to its tourism industry and banking sector. Nevertheless, Spain has been hit hard by the global economic crisis which started in 2006. Consequently, given its rather prosperous status, Catalonia has had to contribute more into stabilizing the Spanish economy, thus leading Catalan nationalists to believe that Spain is stealing or embezzling their assets, and that independence is the only solution to this.

- **Specific hypothesis 2: The differences between Catalan and Southern Cameroonian speeches may be the result of geographical, cultural and political differences between both territories.**

When it comes to the discursive differences between the independence movements in Catalonia and in Southern Cameroons, we assumed that they are the result of the distinct political contexts in which the movements operate. In fact, nationalist parties in Catalonia are fully legal and actively participate in the political life on the regional and national levels. They participate in elections, can conduct public rallies and freely express their political views in the media. Currently, they even enjoy a solid majority in Catalonia's regional parliament. Therefore, it may be logical to assume that Catalan nationalists would not label their political opponents the same way as Southern Cameroonian secessionist movements, which have allegedly been persecuted by the government and have no official status. So, as mentioned earlier, an aim of this dissertation is therefore to see the extent to which those differences are reflected in the topics and discursive strategies used by one group or another.

1.3.3 Research questions

This dissertation will attempt to provide answers to the following set of questions:

1. What are the discursive manifestations of sub-state nationalism in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons?
2. How have history, politics, economy and culture contributed to the rise of nationalist feelings in those territories?
3. Which specific linguistic strategies are used to foster difference in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons?
4. What are the similarities and differences in the discursive expression of difference between Catalonia and Southern Cameroons?

1.4 Research scope

To begin with, it is worth noting that we do not intend to cross the dividing line between research and active politics in this work. In fact, it is an academic endeavour whose main

objective is to add knowledge to scholarship by discussing the manifestations of sub-state nationalism across the world.

The above being said, the research whose findings are described in this thesis is a continuation of a master's research by the same author, which was completed in 2014. The master's dissertation discussed essentially the Southern Cameroonian independence discourse, and we thought it wise to bring in another perspective in our PhD research. Therefore, investigation related to this thesis started one year later, and was motivated by the researcher's need to expand on what had been done in the master's dissertation. Hence, the aim of the present write-up is to study the discursive manifestations of sub-state nationalism in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons, with a look at political discourse produced between 2010 and 2015. This section will give reasons for having chosen such discourse and time frame.

To begin with our texts, we decided to focus solely on political discourse, which according to van Dijk (1997:13) involves text and talk from recognized politicians, as well as the discursive reaction of other citizens, pressure group members and other dissidents. Van Dijk thus makes it clear that political discourse is not only represented, as he suggests, by speeches delivered on specific occasions, but encompasses any discursive production which has a clear impact on the political fabric of any specific territory. We shall come back to the definition of political discourse in subsequent chapters. Having van Dijk's specification in mind, speeches from the Catalan independence movement on the one hand, as well as political speeches and open letters from the Southern Cameroons' liberation movements were selected to be further studied.

The Catalan part of the political discourse we studied included fifteen (15) speeches, all given by Artur Mas, the leader of the Catalan Generalitat from 2010 to early 2016. These speeches, which cover several political fields of action, were delivered on several occasions and

included the President's inauguration and acceptance speeches, decrees, new-year wishes, and speeches presented in other contexts such as conferences or official ceremonies. Artur Mas's speeches were chosen because they were easily accessible, and have the advantage of being comprehensive in their representation of the Catalan nationalist ideology.

When it comes to Southern Cameroons, due to the scarcity of actual political speeches, it was necessary to include other discourse genres in order to build a significant, reliable and valid body of literature. So, to build up a more comprehensive body of text, open letters, which share many characteristics of political speeches as well as their structure (see van Dijk, 1997) were included. It is worth-noting here that, for obvious reasons (the illegal nature of the groups) which shall be further discussed subsequently, it was equally impossible to gather enough material from a single politician, as we did in the case of Catalonia. Thus, most of the eighteen (18) political speeches and open letters representing the Southern Cameroonian independence activities were written by the main Southern Cameroonian secessionist leaders, namely the late Chief Ayamba Ette Otun, Nfor Ngala Nfor, Fon Fongum Gorji Dinka and Reverend Father Andrew Ambeazieh.

As concerns time, we limited our analysis to text produced between 2010 and 2015. Rather than being chosen at random, these dates are significant in the respective histories of nationalism in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons. To begin with Catalonia, it is in 2010 that Artur Mas became the president of the *Generalitat*, and from the beginning, he made it clear that one of the most important points on his agenda was leading Catalonia to total independence from Spain. Five years later, this is in 2015, Artur Mas promised the Catalan people that if he was re-elected, he would start a period of transition which would eventually lead to a declaration of independence which may be unilateral, in case the Spanish government did not cooperate.

In the Cameroonian political context, 2010 was marked by much protest from Southern Cameroonian independence activists, who felt that celebrating the 50th anniversary of the independence of the former French territory of Cameroon was another attempt at obliterating the former English territory, which in 1960 was still under British domination. In fact, the (often violent) protests that followed the decision led the government to prolong the celebrations to 2011 in a bid to appease citizens of the former British Southern Cameroons. When it comes to 2015, the year was marked by power struggle at the helm of the main pro-independence party (the Southern Cameroons National Council) after the death of its long time Chairman, Chief Ayamba.

Critical Discourse Analysis is a very broad discipline, and has increasingly been resorted to by researchers in a bid to understand the essence of national identity construction in various countries and regions around the world. Taking this into account, it would have been impossible for us to devote much attention to research endeavours carried out in other contexts, not only in our analysis, but also in our theoretical part, as this would overshadow the main purpose of this work, which is to compare and contrast the discursive manifestations of nationalism in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons. This is why only a few publications discussing national identity construction in territories other than the afore-mentioned are discussed in our literature review.

Finally, it is important to mention again that this work is the result of a purely Critical Discourse Analysis research. In other words, it is more qualitative than quantitative, although statistics are often used to illustrate certain claims we made. This work is not therefore a corpus linguistic endeavour, as we will further explain under the Research Design heading.

So to sum up, this dissertation is a Critical Discourse Analysis of pieces of political discourse from Southern Cameroons and Catalonia, produced between 2010 and 2015. The historical, economic and political contexts of both territories shall be discussed in Chapter 2.

1.5 Originality of research

This research work aims to describe, and compare from a linguistic perspective two independence movements from two geographically, politically and culturally distinct territories. First of all, it is one of the few Critical Discourse Analysis works which has been carried out in the respective contexts of Catalonia and Southern Cameroons, and the only one attempting to compare them. This research work's significance also lies on the fact that it demonstrates that there is a kind of uniformity in the main linguistic strategies used by independence activists across the world, and that despite political, economic and cultural idiosyncrasies, general models for the construction of national identity such as the one designed by Wodak et al. (1999) are highly valid.

The present dissertation was also worth the effort, as it permitted to discard the assumption that political discourse only refers to discourse produced by recognised politicians under very clear circumstances. As a matter of fact, as van Dijk (1997) argues, political discourse goes beyond mainstream politics to also include underground politics. In fact, although legality may affect the specifics of a political speech, speeches from an illegal political party or pressure group can still share a lot of similarities with speeches which were given by the leader of a recognized party. This is why a comparative and contrastive analysis of Catalan and Southern Cameroonians nationalist pieces of discourse was possible.

Another interesting fact about this work is its currency. In fact, the investigation which underpinned this write-up was carried out in a period of political upheavals not only in the countries concerned here, but also in other places of the globe where minorities have been very vocal about their desire to achieve freedom. For instance, since 2013 Ukraine has been witnessing a civil war opposing the Kiev government to ethnic Russian nationalists in the Regions of Donetsk and Lugansk. In Asia, 2014 was characterized by growing tensions between the China and the citizens of Hong Kong, who demanded more autonomy from the

Beijing government. These cases are just a few of the many examples of sub-state nationalism, whose analysis may be inspired by this work.

Finally, the conclusions of this write-up can guide decision makers and political scientists and help them further understand what minorities want, and the different strategies they use to achieve their objectives. Having the conclusions of this work in mind, they can design defensive strategies in order to maintain the upper hand against independence activists.

1.6 Research design

Before further ado, it is important to note that this is just a summary of the research methodology, which will be fully discussed in Chapter 2. Being a Critical Discourse Analysis work, we decided to base our analyses on Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach, as found in *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (1999) . In addition to this approach, we also relied on Paul Chilton's Discourse Space Model as presented in *Analysing Political Discourse* (2004). Though these two approaches will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters, it is necessary to give here a gist of what their concern is. To begin with the Discourse-Historical Approach, it is a CDA model of analysis that was designed by a group of researchers analysing the construction of national identity in Austria. This group, which was headed by Ruth Wodak, included other researchers, namely Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Karin Leibhart. The Discourse-Historical approach aims at establishing a clear relationship between discourse and historical context. Therefore, linguistic analysis here is always underpinned by a clear understanding of the events that sparked the production of a given piece of discourse. It is going to be the main approach to be used in this write-up because it has been efficiently used in describing national identity as a mere construction. As we mentioned before, Chilton's Discourse Space Model will equally be used in our discussions. In fact, we realised that many at times, politicians position "others on the axes of space, time, and rightness presuming the centrality and fixity of the self." (Chilton 2004:

205). The Discourse Space Model thus guides us into analysing social distance and closeness in the nationalist speeches at stake. Fortunately enough, this approach does not contradict or go against the Discourse-Historical Approach, but rather fits well into it.

This dissertation, as mentioned before is the result of the analysis of several speeches from Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders or activists. These speeches will be basically analysed manually, in a more qualitative way. The foregoing notwithstanding, software will be used to provide quantitative evidence to the claims being made. Nevertheless this work doesn't fit into the area known as corpus linguistics, because statistics are not the main feature of our dissertation, and we decided to have a closer look at a quite reduced number of text instead of make general quantitative claims about a large body of text.

To sum up the methodology used in this write-up is a combination of two CDA approaches, namely Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach and Chilton's Discourse Space Model.

1.7 Thesis structure

This thesis is made up of a total of 6 Chapters, the present part falling under Chapter 1. Chapter 2, which focuses on this work's theoretical background, will look at Critical Discourse Analysis in a very detailed manner and present the approaches which shall be used in our work, namely the Discourse-Historical Approach and the Discourse Space Model. Chapter 3 will specify the historical, political and social contexts of the territories at stake (Catalonia and Southern Cameroons), and also provide information about previous research works related to the Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalisms. Finally, the data which was used in our research endeavour will be also presented in chapter 3. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 are aimed at presenting and discussing the results we got from our investigation of political discourse in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons respectively. Given the fact that these Chapters are the most important parts of this write-up, they are significantly longer than other chapters. Finally, Chapter 6 will discuss the similarities and differences between the

discursive strategies used in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons, make some suggestions for further research and conclude to this write-up.

Chapter 2: Theoretical background

This thesis, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is an analysis of the discursive manifestations of sub-state nationalism in two countries, namely Spain and Cameroon. It pays special attention to the Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence movements, and will be carried out within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis. It would be too abrupt to get into the analysis of the secessionist activities mentioned before without actually explaining the framework within which this study is going to be carried out. Therefore, this chapter aims at introducing us to CDA not only by describing its fundamental principles, but also by having a look at the different theories that underpinned its birth. Apart from that, given the fact that CDA is a heterogeneous and interdisciplinary field of research, it would be necessary to have a look at the major approaches falling within it. Special attention will be paid to the approaches to be used in this work, namely Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach and Paul Chilton's Discourse Space Model. Apart from this we shall review literature related Identity construction in general and to the Catalan and Southern Cameroonian issues in particular.

2.1 Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis.

Commonly known as CDA, Critical Discourse Analysis is a field of research whose origin can be traced back to the late 1980's. More specifically, the expression "Critical Discourse Analysis" might have been used for the first time by Norman Fairclough in a 1985 article he authored (Fairclough 1985: 739). However, the term became widely known after the publication of *Language and Power* (Fairclough, 1989). The foregoing notwithstanding, it is important to note that the Critical Discourse Analysis school of thought was actually born after a symposium which brought together, in the premises of the University of Amsterdam,

the scholars who would later be known as its founding fathers. These were Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak⁴.

Critical Discourse Analysts's common belief is that language is a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak *et al*, 1999). They were heavily influenced by research traditions from different fields and countries. Linguistically, Critical Discourse Analysis drew much from pragmatics, the Ethnography of Speaking, Conversation Analysis as well as Michel Foucault's teachings. Thus, Michel Foucault is very often seen as the main precursor of poststructuralism (which is lengthily discussed later). Basically, Michel Foucault is one of the theorists who believed that society is shaped and molded by discourses of various types. He insisted on the fact that social categorisation, personal representations, ideology, etc. reflected existing power relations⁵. It is therefore on this principle that Critical Discourse Analysts started building their theory, whose bottomline is the description of the extent to which language reflects power relations such as domination on the part of power holders and resistance on the part of minorities.

Therefore, at this juncture, what we can say is that discourse analysis deals with naturally occurring language, which can be text or talk. The ultimate aim of CDA is understanding the relationship discourse has with a given community of speakers and the extent to which it influences their daily interactions. Critical Discourse Analysts believe that language not only shapes social relationships but is transformed, or modified by the relationships as well (Wodak and Meyer, 2008).

2.1.1 Tenets of CDA

CDA is an interdisciplinary field of study which upholds the study of language and context with a view to understanding how power and resistance are manifested between a variety of social actors. In fact, for the proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis, it is totally impossible

⁴ For more on the origin and precursors of CDA, see Breeze, 2011; Wodak and Meyer, 2008

⁵ See Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

to dissociate language from society as it was common in traditional approaches of linguistic analysis. Language makes complete sense only in a given social setting and its meaning is not always literal or conventional. Moreover, beyond meaning, there is an (conscious?) effort on the part of discourse producers to create a certain world and to foster a certain understanding of it. The constant change of social circumstances and the creation of new speech communities with different linguistic standards thus make Critical Discourse Analysis a very broad field of study which cannot be fully apprehended. Hence, talking about Critical discourse Analysis does not imply a total uniformity of this field of study, as stated by Breeze (2011: 494):

It should be stated at the outset, however, that although such an approach undoubtedly exists and occupies a more or less defined area of the intellectual landscape, many scholars, particularly those working within this paradigm, feel that it is incorrect to refer to CDA as a unitary, homogeneous entity.

In fact, in a bid to look for the best tools for discourse analysis various methodological approaches have been developed by the main proponents of this field. The foregoing notwithstanding, the existence of those approaches (discussed subsequently) does not put into question the major principles that led to the birth of Critical Discourse Analysis, and which bind all Critical Discourse Analysts together. Therefore, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) all CDA scholars agree on the following points, which are explained below.

- **CDA addresses social problems**

Critical Discourse Analysis was born at a time of political upheavals marking the end of the Cold War and the beginning of tensions in the Balkans and the Middle East. These political situations were underpinned by discourses of nationalism, independence, immigration etc., which often caused the formation of conflictive social groups where majority or powerful groups often marginalised or poured scorn on the less powerful groups using subtle linguistic strategies. This situation thus motivated the production of research works in linguistics which

were mostly aimed at uncovering those strategies. Thus, Critical Discourse Analysis “considers more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict.” (Weiss and Wodak, 2002:12)

- **Power relations are discursive**

According to Critical Discourse Analysts, power relations are always reflected in discourse. This is why, when talking about political discourse, Van Dijk (1997) says it is a form of “political action”. Power, which should be analysed in relation to control (van Dijk, 1998:355), is always enacted through discourse. In society the powerful will use discourse when trying to exert influence on the powerless. The latter will also make use of discourse to resist such a situation and fight for freedom. Carefully studying words, sentences and whole utterances can make us identify power relations and differences. As far as political discourse is concerned, the analysis of speeches, column articles, just to mention a few, often reveals the stance their authors adopt, as well as the amount of authority they have in a given social setting.

- **Discourse constitutes society and culture**

Discourse analysts believe that society, culture and discourse are closely interwoven. This comes from the assumption that members of a specific community can interact and enforce all the rules aimed at maintaining order only through language. This goes hand in glove with what Anderson (1991) mentions, when talking about the close relationship between language and the formation of identity, and the reproduction of certain patterns of thought within society. Thus van Dijk (1998: 354) notes “For instance, a racist speech in parliament is a discourse at the microlevel of social interaction in the specific situation of a debate, but at the same time may enact or be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macrolevel.”

- **Discourse does ideological work**

Discourse thus serves purposes far beyond mere communication. It always includes one's worldview and perspective on society's specific issues. That's why Critical Discourse Analysts all concur that it does ideological work. Ideology is commonly defined as a system of beliefs covering different social domains such as politics, economy, religion. Moreover, ideology is always understood in relation to a social group or community, as it is the driving force behind all social practices (for more on ideology, see van Dijk 2000). Coming back to the relationship between discourse and ideology, van Dijk (2000: 9) notes.

One of the crucial social practices influenced by ideology are language use and discourse, which in turn influence how we acquire, learn or change ideologies. Much of our discourse, especially when we speak as members of groups, expresses ideologically based opinions. We learn most of our ideological ideas by reading and listening to other group members, beginning with our parents and peers. Later we 'learn' ideologies by watching television, reading text books [sic] at school, advertising, the newspaper, novels or participating in everyday conversations with friends and colleagues, among a multitude of other forms of text and talk.

From the above, it seems to be clear that ideology refers to artificial worldviews that are created, reinforced and redefined by discourse.

- **Discourse is historical**

Discourse is not to be taken as text and talk alone, in fact, as mentioned earlier, but also as the ideas, the beliefs embedded in text and talk. Those ideas are shared by a social group living within a given historical context, whose knowledge is of paramount importance. On the other hand, discourses also reveal much about a group's past. They help us get an insight into the origins of a given ideology, the context that led to its constructions and the possible modifications it underwent. To better enforce certain ideologies, social actors may make reference to the past, as nationalists who often resort to (fictitious?) stories about a glorious past to rally citizens behind them (see Wodak *et al*, 1999). Intertextuality is thus a key notion here, as discourse is always produced in relation to other pieces of discourse. Analysing a text or talk from a given time can say much about the social fabric at the time the given piece was produced. For example, Chilton's (2004:125) analysis of Enoch Powell's famous speech,

rivers of blood, demonstrates that immigration did not become an issue when Britain joined the European Union, but it was already a great concern far before Britons decided to complain about Eastern European immigration to the UK. The historical nature of discourse thus comes from the fact that it can only be understood by when knowing its political, social and cultural context of origin.

- **The link between text and society is mediated**

The relationship between text and society is not always as clear-cut as many may think. This is exactly what Fairclough and Wodak (2006:75) mean when affirming that the connections between text and social structure are always complex, and instead of being straightforward, they are indirect or ‘mediated’. As a matter of fact, to establish a link between a given text and its context of production, one needs to have a good knowledge of the speaker’s cognition, which is basically the result of culture and personal or collective history. This cognition thus affects the way speech is articulated, thus expressing a clear connection between the speaker’s social background and his discourse.

- **Discourse Analysis is interpretative and explanatory**

Critical Discourse Analysis is also built on the principle that the assumptions made by Critical Discourse analysts are just mere interpretations of a given piece of discourse, which can be challenged by other interpretations. Interpretation is often influenced by variables such as social class, gender, attitudes just to name a few. Moreover, sometimes texts are so opaque that their authors are the only ones who might really know what they were talking about at a specific point in time. To avoid any misunderstandings, Critical Discourse Analysis thus sees a thorough study of context, and understanding of the author’s general stance as the groundwork to be done before any further analysis of the piece of discourse in hand. Fairclough and Wodak insist that the interpretations of Critical Discourse Analysts can be seen as more reliable and insightful than common interpretations because they are based on a

systematic scientific procedure. The foregoing notwithstanding, they admit that these interpretations are “never finished and authoritative; they are dynamic and open, open to new contexts and information” (2006: 77)

- **Discourse is a form of social action**

Critical Discourse Analysis was born from a strong desire on the part of its proponents to fight against social inequality and also uncover the strategies used by the powerful to better establish their authority over the powerless. As we shall be seeing in the subsequent parts of this chapter, Critical Discourse Analysts were often influenced by their ideological proximity with political ideologies such as Marxism. Therefore, Critical Discourse Analysis was, from the beginning, openly presented as a politically and socially committed field of study, expressing its founding father’s subjective beliefs. Nevertheless, it is important to note that not all Critical Discourse Analysis works are motivated by political beliefs. This work for example does not aim at crossing the dividing line between research and active politics. In fact, it is purely academic and aims at shedding light on the manifestations of sub-state nationalism across the world.

Despite what we mentioned above, it remains clear that CDA is an interdisciplinary research area which includes elements of not only politics, but also history, sociology, anthropology, just to name a few. This interdisciplinary nature comes from the several political influences that CDA early proponents had, as well as and the academic backgrounds from which they came. Therefore CDA is often seen as a combination of several approaches, which has made many praise it for its flexibility, while others criticize it for its lack of consistent patterning⁶. Before getting into discussing these approaches in details, it’s worth having a look at the influences early CDA researchers received.

⁶ see Hidalgo-Tenorio, 2011

2.1.2 Origins of CDA

2.1.2.1 Marxism and the Frankfurt School

As we mentioned before, the idea of discourse as a social action was motivated by the political affiliations of the main proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis, which were thus transferred to their academic writing. Here it is worth talking about Marxism which has heavily influenced CDA. Marxism is a political philosophy which aimed at criticizing Capitalism and its artifacts such as political manipulation and oppression. Having that in mind, it goes without saying that CDA arguments have always had a clear Marxist overtone. In fact, as we mentioned before when discussing its tenets, CDA originally set out to address social problems and aimed at fighting for the less privileged by uncovering the hegemonic strategies used by the powerful when trying to exert more influence on the powerless. Fairclough, who lengthily discussed the Marxist foundations of CDA, makes it clear that the Marxists approach followed in CDA research works is Western Marxism, which moves away from a purely economic focus to discuss “domination and exploitation as established and maintained culturally and ideologically” (2001: 232). The Western Marxist ideology, as noted by Fairclough (*ibid*), was the result of the formation of the so-called Frankfurt School in the first half of the 20th century. In fact, members of the Frankfurt school, such as Jurgen Habermas and Marcuse, who had been very interested in Marxist theory, realised that it could no longer be applied to the circumstances the people faced at the time. Habermas’s ideas for instance have been a great influence on German sociolinguistics and CDA.

2.1.2.2 Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Linguistics

Halliday’s approach to linguistics is also widely accepted as one of the main sources from which CDA researchers developed their approach. Halliday was the first of his contemporaries to move away from the analysis of text only and introduce what he referred to as “context of situation”. In fact, he argued that a text can be fully understood only by

establishing a clear link between “the social environment on the one hand, and the functional organization of language on the other” (1985:11). Halliday’s approach later influenced the proponents of Critical Linguistics, that is, the study of the extent to which language is used in exerting social power and control. This is exactly what Trew (1979: 155) meant when he said that the major aim of Critical Linguistics was determining “how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes.” It is based on the patterns set by Halliday that Critical Linguists like Fowler assumed that lexical and grammatical choices are never void of pragmatic meaning. Rather they are conscious or unconscious choices aimed at conveying a certain ideology and performing a specific pragmatic function (Fowler *et al.*, 1979:188).

2.1.2.3 Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism is another research approach which has had a certain amount of influence on CDA. This approach was designed as a reaction to Structuralism and its underlying approaches or theories such as Marxism. Despite their rejection of Marxism (which greatly influenced CDA) Poststruturalists made some assumptions which would later be reproduced by CDA researchers. While structuralists insisted on the predictability and observability of social constructs, Post-structuralists such as Foucault argued that social relations were highly unpredictable and underwent endless changes which were the result of changing needs or social actors. Foucault thus insisted on the fact that, instead of fossilizing specific ideologies or social constructs, it was necessary to look at discourse alone, and see how it reflected the ever-changing nature of social relations (Foucault, 1969:25-28). Actually, the phrase “discursive formation” which is widely used in CDA literature (and in this write up too) is attributed to Foucault (Strydom, 2000:77). Foucault’s claims have been at the origin of at least three tenets of CDA, namely discourse doing ideological work, the discursive nature of power relationships and link between text and society as being mediated. Nevertheless, CDA

scholars have opted for a more structuralist (Marxist) approach when it comes to deciphering power relations in a given social setting.

2.1.2.4 Cognitive linguistics

Cognitive linguistics is an approach that was developed by researchers such as Lakoff, Langacker and Fauconnier. The major principle of cognitive linguistics is “embodiment” (Lakoff, 1987). In effect, all cognitive linguists agree that mental and linguistic categories are embodied. In other words, the categories highly depend on humans and the latter’s experiences or perception of the world. Based on the embodiment principle, it goes without saying that, far from being universal, meaning is a reflection of the social, cultural and physical experiences of individual speakers. The rejection of “semantic objectivism”, which is an important principle that all cognitive linguists share, actually spans from the embodiment theory. Lakoff (1987; 1988) uses “semantic objectivism” as an umbrella term that encompasses semantic theories which strongly argue for the fact that reality is independent from human cognition or thought. Such theories include Frege (Geach and Black, 1952) and Montague’s Model Theoretical Semantics (Dowty et al 1981; Cann, 1993) and Barwise and Perry’s (1983) Situation Semantics. For cognitive linguists, only the diligent analysis of the speaker’s influences, experience and psyche can help identify the meaning of any utterance. This may have made CDA researchers assume that studying context is very important when trying to make sense of a piece of discourse. More specifically, the conceptual metaphor theory has been widely used by Critical discourse analysts when trying to bring out ideological features of some pieces of discourse. Moreover van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach to CDA and even Chilton’s Discourse-Space Approach have been directly inspired by Cognitive Linguistics. Christopher Hart, another CDA researcher went further by trying to combine CDA and Cognitive Linguistics. These approaches will be discussed in deeper details subsequently.

2.1.2.5 Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is an interdisciplinary research field which came to the limelight in the mid 20th century when researchers like Dell Hymes and William Labov started developing an interest in correlations between language and societal variables like sex, race, ethnic background, occupation, geographical location and literacy. Early sociolinguistics arose as a revolt against asocial linguistics as upheld by Noam Chomsky and, to an extent, Ferdinand de Saussure. Sociolinguists' main claim is that it is impossible to dissociate language from society (Labov 1970) and that a theoretical attempt alone to describe it will always be a failure. Therefore, in his book entitled *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, Ronald Wardhaugh (1997:2) posits that:

[language] is certainly something different from, and is much more considerable than, the kinds of knowledge that we see described in most of the grammars we find on library shelves, no matter how good these grammars may be. Anyone who knows a language knows much more about that language than is contained in a grammar book that attempts to describe the language.

Sociolinguistics thus contributed to the birth of CDA in the sense that it clearly sees language and society as interwoven and also insists on the fact that language can be affected by societal variables.

At this juncture, it is worth noting that not every CDA researcher was influenced by all the approaches or paradigms presented above. Rather some (groups of) researchers were more influenced by one paradigm than another, leading Ruth Wodak (1999:7) to group CDA scholars into three groups falling within the three major European scholarly traditions, namely the German, British, Dutch and Austrian approaches. According to her, German Critical Discourse Analysts have been strongly influenced by Foucault's paradigm, more than any other national group of researchers. The British have also resorted to Foucault's approach, but have had a greater bias towards Halliday's Functional Systemic Linguistics. Researchers of the Dutch group highly relied on cognitive linguistics, and those of the Austrian school on Critical Linguistics and sociolinguistics.

2.1.3 Approaches to CDA

Several approaches have been developed by the main proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis who were all influenced by their academic background and intellectual inclinations. Therefore, most of these approaches were developed by scholars such as Fairclough, van Dijk and Wodak. More recently, more interdisciplinary approaches have been developed by scholars such as Mautner or Hart. These shall be discussed below.

2.1.3.1 Fairclough's Critical Language Study

Fairclough is one of the researchers who is always mentioned when talking about CDA. His publication *Language and Power* (1989) is widely accepted as one of the seminal works in CDA. It is in this book that he referred to his approach as *Critical Language Study*, that is, an investigation of the manifestations of language and ideology in Discourse. This methodology has very clear Marxist overtones and is made up of three methodological steps, namely the identification of a social problem, the analysis of its semiotic or linguistic dimension, the classification of style differences that the analysis revealed, and the study of linguistic attempts at resisting dominant styles. In addition to this, contextual features that surround discourse production are also studied.

Furthermore, Fairclough emphasises that language operates in three different ways in discourse, namely as text, discourse practices and sociocultural practices or background information needed to make sense of the text (Chuliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). *Text* refers to the linguistic elements found in a given piece of discourse. In other words, focusing on text is tantamount to looking at grammar, vocabulary, phonology and semantics. These linguistic elements in a text always aim at carrying out specific actions, representing groups of people or constructing specific identities. *Discourse practices* refer to the social process of producing and making sense of a text (Kettle, 2005). They include elements such as intertextuality, which is defined by Fairclough (1992: 84) as “basically the property texts

have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth”. Finally, as expressed above, the third facet of discourse according to Fairclough is *sociocultural practices*, which include the different social conditions which need to be known before attempting to interpret a text.

Fairclough’s steps of analysis are therefore closely related to the three facets or dimensions of discourse presented above. As a matter of fact, he indicates that analysis should consist in describing the text, interpreting the link between text and discourse practices and finally explaining the relationship between discourse practices and the sociocultural context. Thus, Fairclough’s methodology is often summarized in three words: description, interpretation and explanation (Fairclough, 2001).

2.1.3.2 Van Dijk’s Socio-Cognitive Approach

Another CDA approach is van Dijk’s Socio-Cognitive approach, which combines methodological features from sociology, psychology, and cognitive science (hence it’s name) in order to make sense of discourse. Van Dijk’s work is basically devoted to the expression of domination and resistance, and to the reproduction of stereotypes and other types of prejudice in discourse. This methodology is built on the assumption that the structures of society and of discourse are intersected in cognition. According to van Dijk (2008: 88), the following considerations should always be paid careful attention when studying language in society:

- Member groups: Language users present in discourse always represent specific social groups.
- Action process: Social actors’ individual acts can be part of the actions of their social group.
- Context-social structure: Situations of discursive interaction are pervasive in the functioning of social organizations and part of their structure.

- Personal and social cognition: Language users have individual as well as collective memories, beliefs and experiences which can be resorted to at any time in discourse.

Van Dijk concurs with other CDA scholars on the importance of context when trying to make sense of any piece of discourse. Nevertheless, his definition of context is not the same as that of other CDA researchers. In fact, most Critical Discourse analysts defined context from a post-structuralist perspective, thus emphasizing external characteristics such as the political, economic or cultural situations, what they refer to as social context. On the contrary, van Dijk provides a socio-cognitive definition of context. Rather than emphasizing what Fairclough or Wodak refer to as social context, he believes that only personal experiences, which are embedded in the mind, make context. That's why he states that "various local and global aspects or levels of the social, political, cultural or historical situation- cannot possibly have a direct influence on talk or text at all and should not be called 'context' in the first place". (2007:288)

2.1.3.3 Mautner's Corpus Linguistics and CDA

Corpus linguistics is a study of language that relies on large amounts of naturally processed bodies of text (corpora) which are analysed with the help of computer software programs. Svartvik (2007), Meyer (2008), and Lüdeling and Kytö (2008) make it clear that Corpus Linguistics did not start with the invention of computers, but far before the advent of modern technology. In fact, although when we say Corpus Linguistics nowadays we often mean the use of software, it was first of all done manually. As we may guess from its name, Corpus Linguistics gives linguists a great insight into certain linguistic features by analyzing large amounts of text.

As opposed to what laymen may think, Corpus linguistics is definitely not a quantitative kind of research where the whole work is done by computers, while researchers just spend quality time on other things. It is therefore totally wrong to liken Corpus linguistics to armchair

research (see Svartvik, 2007:12). In fact, though it goes without saying that pieces of information from corpora are retrieved with the help of computer software, researchers have to analyze those pieces of information to come up with sound results. What is more, Corpus Linguistics does not only involve quantitative considerations. Actually, the frequencies obtained should be assessed, discussed and interpreted by the researcher in a bid to add knowledge to scholarship and solve specific problems in society. In this sense, Corpus linguistics is not only quantitative, but may also be qualitative and even empirical (see Reppen and Simpson, 2002).

It is also important not to look at Corpus Linguistics as a mere approach, but rather as a tool which can be used by researchers in all fields of linguistics and beyond. This is why it is now commonly known as an interdisciplinary approach. In linguistics, Corpus Linguistic methods can be used for analysing issues related to syntax, semantics, Second Language Acquisition, Sociolinguistics, Pragmatics and Critical Discourse Analysis (for such studies see Facchinetti, 2007).

The possibility of using Corpus Linguistics tools in Critical Discourse Analysis was first mentioned in the first half of the 1990's. This arose at a time when there was a great need to improve the reliability and validity of research in Critical Discourse Analysis. Frequencies and statistics could thus provide more solid evidence for claims made by CDA researchers. therefore, Mautner⁷ (1995:2), the first researcher who actually ventured into merging Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus linguistics stated the following when talking about the aims of her paper,

Finally and emphatically, I want to make the point that the approach discussed in this paper is intended to supplement, not replace the methods normally used in CDA. Qualitative and quantitative need to be combined, not played off against each other. Mautner has been joined more recently by researcher like Baker and McEnery (2005), Baker et al (2008), just to name a few.

⁷ She authored this publication as Hardt-Mautner, Gerlinde, and dropped "Hardt" in subsequent publications.

According to Mautner (2007), the importance of merging Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus linguistics can be summarized in three main points:

- Corpus linguistics allows critical discourse analysts to deal with the representativity issue by working with much larger data volumes.
- It also permits critical discourse analysts to overcome the bias criticism by broadening their empirical base.
- Corpus Linguistics software tools give access to both quantitative and qualitative perspectives on data.

Corpus Linguistics has therefore proven to be a reliable tool for researchers in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, and has contributed to foster CDA's "authority, plausibility and reliability" (Mautner, 1995:2).

2.1.3.4 Hart's Cognitive linguistics and CDA

Christopher Hart is another researcher who developed a hybrid CDA approach. As opposed to Mautner who found it interesting to merge CDA with Corpus Linguistics, Hart rather ventured into merging CDA with Cognitive linguistics.

From the outset, Cognitive Linguists were motivated by a strong desire to rise against the autonomous, mathematical and formalist perspective on languages. In fact, earlier linguists always studied syntax and semantics from a generative, minimalist and asocial perspective, and did not go beyond giving a bird's-eye view of the processes involved in meaning making. They seemed to do everything possible to avoid or overlook a deeper and comprehensive study of language and meaning. Hence, Lakoff, the main propounder of Cognitive Linguistics, overtly spoke against the preceding approaches, dubbing them unscientific, for, according to him, they did not match with experimental data in linguistics and other involved sciences like psychology.

Cognitive linguistics has thus been always overtly opposed to formalist and structuralist linguistics whose theoretical approach to language is highly mathematical, not taking into account “non-finitary phenomena” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:43) like mental images, general cognitive processes, basic level categories and prototypes. Considering, the foregoing, it is no surprise that Christopher Hart decided to combine this approach to CDA. As a matter of fact, Cognitive linguistics and CDA have a lot in common and can be complementary, as it goes without saying that both CDA and Cognitive linguistics reject the idea of taking some linguistic structures for granted. Moreover, according to Hart, Cognitive Linguistics establishes the ‘missing link’ Chilton (2006) noticed between discursive and social practices. CDA also gives a more societal facet to Cognitive linguistics, which otherwise remains a quite theoretical approach (Hart, 2015). In his Approach Christopher Hart sets out to analyse semantically the linguistic features of discourse. Then he links argumentation strategies to social cognition.

The above approaches have often been too general and failed to particularly tackle national identity construction. This is why we decided to use Wodak’s *et al* Discourse-Historical Approach which has been used extensively in studies aimed at discussing nationalism and identity (Wodak et al, 1999; Alameda Hernandez, 2006). Moreover, based on the assumptions that a methodology having a somewhat cognitive facet could help us better understand the relationship between social reality, discourse and the mind, Chilton’s Discourse-Space Model was also added to our analysis. For a clearer and deeper look at these approaches, they are going to be discussed in the next section.

2.2. The Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis

This approach was developed by members of a research group based at the university of Vienna, Austria. The group was made up of Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl, and Karin Liebhart, who then carried out a study of the discursive formation of national

identity in Austria (Wodak *et al*, 1999). Apart from investigating the discursive construction of national identity in Austria, Wodak's research group have also investigated the discourses of discrimination and marginalization amongst natives or immigrants (Reisigl and Wodak, 2000; Wodak and Meyer 2001. More recent studies include Jensen, 2008; Abdul Razzaq, 2012).

The Discourse-Historical Approach has paid, from its very beginning, special attention to power difference and how it is reflected in discourse. Its major aim is to decipher how the powerful make use of language to consolidate their situation while enjoining the powerless to certain behaviours. It also aims at studying the extent to which the powerless react to (or resist) domination through language. To achieve the aim of better interpreting the pieces of discourse they studied, Wodak and her colleagues set out to combine historical study, contextual analysis and linguistic analysis. Their methodology is made up of three main steps, which involve respectively identifying the contents or topics of any piece of discourse, then the macro-strategies involved –bearing in mind the fact that in addition to these macrostrategies we have microstrategies- , and finally the linguistic means or forms of realization of the given strategies (Wodak *et al*, 1999: 30). These steps are discussed in greater length below.

- **Contents**

This is the starting point of the methodological approach of Wodak and her colleagues (1999). Their major aim at this juncture is to identify macro-propositions or ideas that are pervasive in national identity or identity formation discourses. Wodak and her colleagues note that carrying out background research, that is looking for information, not only from empirical works, but also from other literature related to the subject being investigated is the only way researchers can obtain reliable contents. According to de Cillia *et al*. (1999: 156). “first, the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate all available information on the

historical background and the original sources in which discursive “events” are embedded”. In their 1999 study, Wodak and her colleagues identified five contents related to the discursive formation of national identity in Austria (Wodak *et al*, 1999: 31):

1. the linguistic construction of the ‘*homo Austraticus*’ and ‘*homo externus*’
2. the narration and confabulation of a common political past
3. the linguistic construction of a common culture
4. the linguistic construction of a common political present and future
5. the linguistic construction of a ‘national body’

From the above contents, it is clear that the evocation of a common history, destiny and culture are pervasive in discourses of nationalism or identity building. Therefore, these topics guided us throughout our analysis of Southern Cameroonian and Catalan pieces of discourse, making us realise that the construction of distinctiveness and uniqueness with a view to presenting independence as legitimate can be identified across the texts studied. These shall be further presented in the methodology section and developed in the results and analysis chapters.

● **Strategies**

In order to make sure their readers fully understand what they refer to as strategies, the founding fathers of the Discourse-Historical Approach state that:

On the macro-level, we can distinguish between different types of macro-strategies employed in the discursive formation of national identity. These macro-strategies correspond to the main social macro-functions we discussed earlier, namely construction, perpetuation or justification, transformation and demontage or dismantling. (Wodak *et al*, 1999:33)

Wodak *et al* (1999:33) further explain the above quote by stating that discursive acts may have four major functions. They can serve to “construct and establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity”, thus known as constructive strategies. Linguistic acts may also “attempt to maintain and to reproduce a threatened national identity”, and in such situations would be called perpetuation or justification

strategies. Moreover, linguistic acts could be attempts to “transform a relatively well-established national identity and its components into another identity the contours of which the speaker has already conceptualised” or transformative. Finally, they can “aim at dismantling or disparaging parts of an existing national identity construct”, cases which evidence what Wodak *et al.* refer to as destructive or dismantling strategies.

Wodak’s *et al.*’s argument can be summarised in that all pieces of discourse aim to achieve certain goals and these goals are referred to as macro-strategies. These macro-strategies are therefore purely semantic and are very close to topics or contents. They should thus not be confused with sub-strategies, which, as their other name (linguistic means of realization) implies, are linguistic in nature. They are described below.

- **Linguistic means of realization (discursive strategies)**

While the macro-strategies which we mentioned earlier are general categories within which discourse may fall, discursive strategies refer to the tools used by the discourse producers when making their point. These strategies include nomination, predication, perspectivation, argumentation and intensification/mitigation. Nomination (or referential strategies) refer to how actors are constructed in discourse. In most national identity discourse there is always a tendency towards the construction of and in-group/out-group separation. Nomination can be achieved through various means like toponyms or demonyms, and once social actors are constructed, they are often assigned positive or negative attributes. Strategies involving the foregoing are called predication strategies. They often go hand in glove with nomination strategies, this is why many see nomination and predication strategies as one set of strategies. Talking about that, Wodak *et al* (1999: 35) claim that lexical, syntactic and semantic devices can all be resorted to in order to construct “unification, unity, sameness, difference, uniqueness, origin, continuity, gradual or abrupt change, autonomy, heteronomy, and so on”.

When these lexical items refer to people, places or time, they are used to foster the strategies known as referential and predication strategies (Wodak *et al*, 1999:35):

1. Personal reference (anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns, quantifiers).
2. Spatial reference (toponyms, geonyms, adverbs of place [...])
3. Temporal reference (temporal propositions, adverbs of time [...])

Therefore, constructive strategies may be achieved by nomination and predication and their represented in discourse by the use of pronouns and other diction, resort to metaphor and metonymy, categorization, and positive self-presentation or negative-other presentation.

Apart from nomination and predication strategies, argumentation, also known as justification can be used in order to make a point and support it. Argumentation strategies are often identified in such situations where authors quote authorities or resort to stories in discourse. What's more, the stories or the authorities being quoted are often underpinned by commonplace arguments, also known as topoi. Therefore, perpetuation and justification strategies may resort to justification sub-strategies such as storytelling and quoting credible sources. As concerns transformation strategies, they are often achieved through argumentation strategies such as commonplace arguments also known as topoi (Jensen, 2008), disclaimers and speech acts like complaining. Finally, destructive or dismantling strategies are achieved by the variants of the sub-strategies used for building national identities (Jensen, 2008), especially heteronomination (de Cillia *et al*, 1999: 161).

2.3 Chilton's Discourse Space Model

Paul Chilton's Model of analysis is the second approach we are going to be using in our analysis. This approach was born from the realization on the part of Chilton that other approaches did not clearly establish the link between discursive practices and social structure (2006). Chilton's argument is thus based on the fact that one has to turn to the mind in order to find the so-called 'missing link'. By investigating the mind in relation to discursive

practices and social structure, Chilton's approach thus highly relies on Cognitive Linguistics. In fact, one of the fundamental principles of the Discourse Space Model is Lakoff's (1996:57) assertion that "Any ideology is a conceptual system of some sort".

More specifically, the Discourse Space Model attempts to demonstrate how social relations are often discursively manifested as space metaphors. In other words, the Discourse Space Model is a discourse adaptation of the Mental Space Theory, designed by famous Cognitive Linguist Fauconnier. In this approach, a distinction is made between base space, that is shared knowledge between a community, and built-space; the linguistic representation of those ideas. Despite its similarity to the Mental Space Theory, the Discourse Space Model stresses deixis, distance and direction, and presents discourse as a system of axes, including the Deictic Centre or viewpoint and the Speaker. Chilton's approach is therefore very useful when investigating the We-They or Self-Other relationship, or when talking about identity and representation.

Chilton's approach therefore upholds the lexical, grammatical and semantic analysis of discourse in a bid to see the extent to which distance is created or eliminated by the speaker. The lexical, grammatical and semantic analyses are conducted in the light of discourse referents, verb tenses and modality respectively. He summarises his approach in the figures described and illustrated in Figures 2.1., 2.2 and 2.3.

Figure 2.1⁹ is the presentation of Space in terms of discourse referents. As Chilton argues, discourse referents, represented as the vertical axis in the diagram, can indicate three types of space relationships from the Speaker, namely proximal (indicating a close relationship), distal (indicating a distant relationship) and medial. Discourse referents are just one of the many grammatical elements on which the Discourse Space Model is based. Another one of them is

⁸ For more see Fauconnier, 1994.

⁹ All figures here have been taken from PDF version of Chilton's talk for CEELBAS (2011, Oxford). http://www.ceelbas.ac.uk/workshops/cognitive_linguistics_workshop/Paul_Chilton_Oxford_CEELBAS_workshop_ppp.pdf. Last accessed on 18/08/2017

deictic time presented in Figure 2.2. As discourse referents, deictic time can indicate space, but in terms of time, along the past, present, future line. Where a specific action can be remote or close depending on the tenses used. Finally, Chilton argues that modality can play a very important part in representing space. As a matter of fact, modality can from express certainty (close to the speaker), to total counterfactuality (far from the speaker).

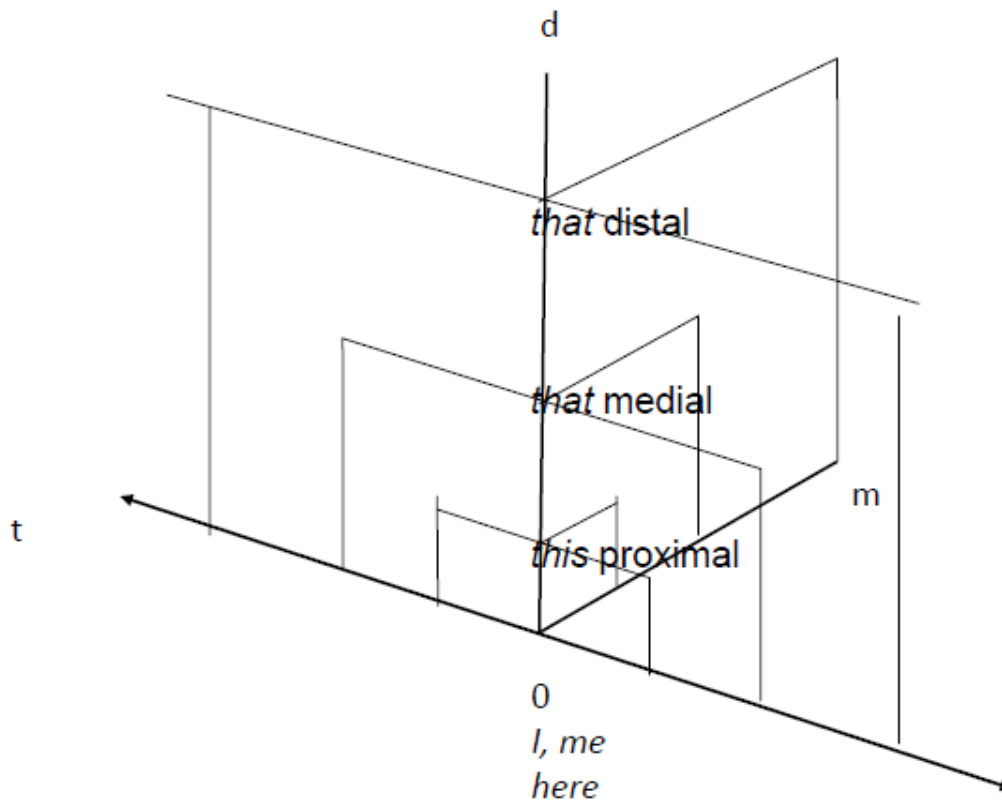


Figure 2.1 Chilton's Model for discourse referents

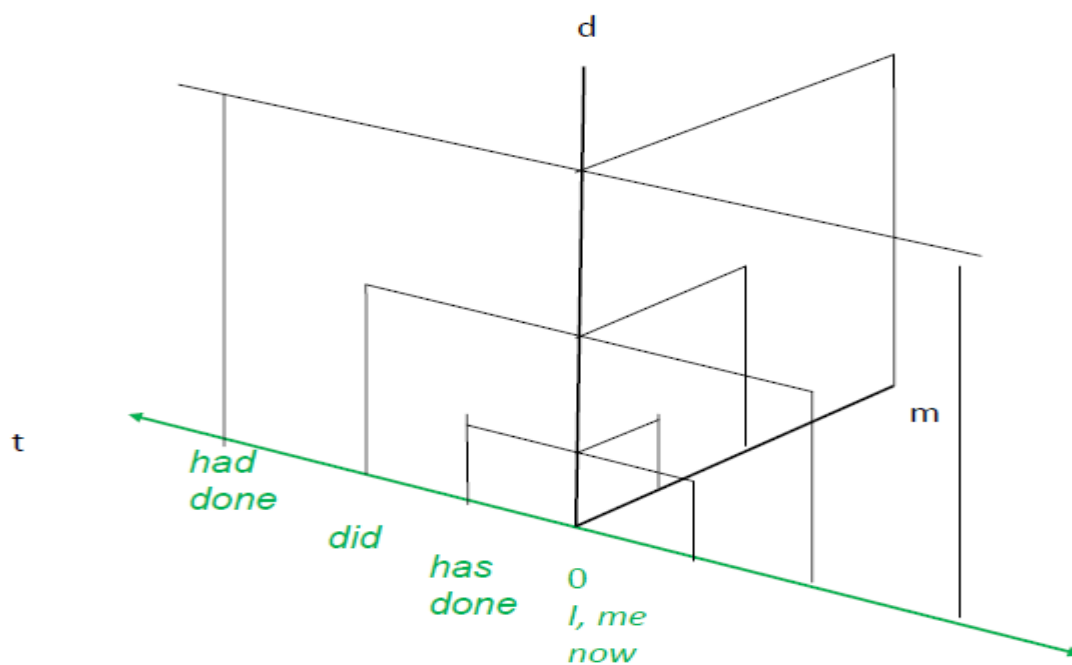


Figure 2.2 Chilton's Model for deictic time

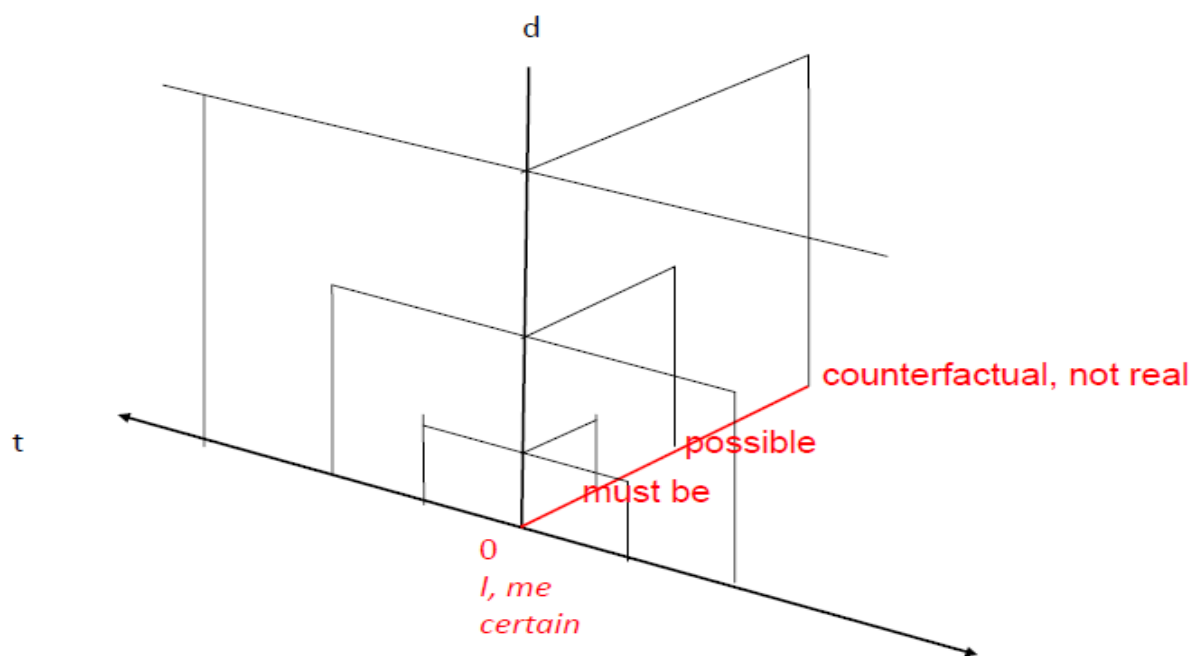


Figure 2.3 Chilton's Model for modality

2.4 On identity

Jensen's 2008 study indicates that research works on identity building can be subsumed under the thought movement known as post-structuralism. research on national or ethnic identity has recently been motivated by the desire to break away from traditional thought patterns, which were all founded on the principle that the formation of social groups is fully innate and natural and it is never really motivated by external factors (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). As opposed to this, early discourse theory proponents insisted on the fact that social groups are formed, shaped, and destroyed by social and political happenings.

Poststructuralists use the phrase *cultural identities* to bring together the different concepts that are used to define what we call identity. According to poststructuralists, these concepts, which include race, ethnicity, gender, class, are always resorted to in order to construct a separate identity. As Clarke (2008:1) notes, *cultural identities* are therefore the result of a conscious effort by members of a specific social group aimed at marking difference.

Cultural identities are marked by a number of factors – 'race', ethnicity, gender and class to name but a few; the very real locus of these factors, however, is the notion of difference. The question of difference is emotive; we start to hear ideas about 'us' and 'them', friend and foe, belonging and not belonging, in-groups and out-groups, which define 'us' in relation to others, or the Other. From this we get ideas about communities, even imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) and ethno-national boundaries.

As such, presenting one's identity is always tantamount to opposing it to another identity or culture. This is why pieces of identity building discourse, such as nationalist, racist, or other supremacist communications, are always full of strategies aimed at creating a gap between the self and the other

- **The construction of the *self***

According to poststructuralists, identity building is a conscious effort by members of a given social group to present themselves to the world in a certain way and make people take the image thus created for granted. The foregoing was first expressed by Goffman (1968) and later confirmed by researchers such as Simon Clarke, who not only concurs with Goffman,

but also adds that in identity building, “the performer can be completely immersed in his own act and sincerely believe that the version of reality he is projecting is actually correct” (2008:2).

Being in an identity building performance will make the nationalist, racist or supremacist activists strive to emphasize a certain facet of their group, while avoiding the aspects which don’t consolidate the image they want to portray. This can be achieved through the use of various stylistic devices such as the use of euphemisms, metonymies, metaphors, as well as the occultation of agency in passive structures.

- **Fostering *selfness* by constructing *otherness***

Poststructuralist scholars have also been discussing ways into which the *other* is conceptualised in society. According to Clarke (2008), the conceptualisation of *the other* in identity-building discourse is not less important than the construction of the *self*. As a matter of fact, the effective construction of *the other* allows group members to unify and bring cohesion to their own group. Difference is so important that many groups even overlook its subjective nature and use “scientific” evidence to define it. For instance, Miles (1989) indicates that Caucasians are often seen as members of a biologically superior race in racist discourse. Now that supremacist discourse is overwhelmingly condemned, the racial superiority argument has been replaced by the so-called exclusionist discourse, which mainly focuses on the inability to live together because of cultural differences. This is the trend followed by most of the once overtly racist political parties in Europe, whose racist argument is now disguised under the cultural incompatibility between the *self* and the *other* (Miles, *ibid*).

Therefore, it is obvious that constructing an alien is a very important part of every identity building discourse. As mentioned earlier, it would be impossible for a given identity to be fully constructed without being opposed to another one. As such, in most of the pieces of

discourse analysed in this write-up, the *other* (the oppressor, annexationist, invader or its territory) is often clearly identified and given negative attributes, which contrast with the positive attributes given to the *self* (as seen in Chapters 4 and 5). As concerns Cameroon, the cultural difference between the French-speaking and English-speaking citizens of the country is far from being a natural phenomenon. Instead, it is construction which is rooted in European imperialism. In fact, before the so-called “Scramble for Africa”, the territory we presently know as Cameroon was made up of several independent kingdoms or chiefdoms falling within four or five (with the Pygmies) broad groups. These groups (namely the Sudanese, Coastal, Grassfield, Fang-Beti people) had almost nothing in common, if not distant origins and a few (and often conflictive) interactions. Then, when Cameroon became a German Protectorate, the new colonial masters set out to bring together all Cameroonian indigenous groups under the German flag. This is how the construction of Cameroon as a nation started. This construction was of course enforced by education and the passing of legal documents which often have discourse practices embedded in them. Later, when the German colony was partitioned between the winners of World War 1, namely France and England, Cameroon was divided into two broad ethnic identities reflecting the new colonial situation in the country. As Anchimbe (2005) points out, these identities are still alive and motivate the independence movement being witnessed in Southern Cameroons.

Talking about Catalonia, the conflict between Catalan nationalists and the Spanish central state is primarily the reflection of attempts at constructing and perpetuating an identity (be it a Spanish identity, or Catalan) and resistance to it. This fight, which is true of almost all nation states in the world, is always characterized by discourse production, aimed at enforcing one identity, while threatening another. This will be further explained below, before going to the approach which was used in this work, namely Critical Discourse Analysis.

- **National identity**

Many studies have been devoted to studying the representation of nation and identity, most of the studies falling within the field of sociology. National identity, according to Maurice Halbwachs (1985), is mostly based on a “collective memory”, which can be defined as a number of historical and social happenings, which are seen by members of “imagined communities” (Anderson 1983) as their common heritage. Halbwachs further indicates constant reference to some past events or historical personalities that we witness in the discourses of the community serves the purpose of ensuring historical continuity, and thus consolidating collective memory. This is why, at least according to de Cillia *et al* (1999), some versions of national histories are adopted, while others are rejected. As a matter of fact, the adoption or rejection of a certain version of national history is always motivated by factors aimed at constructing a given community and setting it apart from contiguous ones.

While, as presented above, Halbwachs states that national identity's main defining factor is memory, other researchers like Hall (1994), and Ram (1994), think that rather than being solely conditioned by memory, the building of national identity is first and foremost motivated by culture as a whole which is reflected in discourse (or *narrative* for Ram. See de Cillia *et al*, 1999). Thus Hall (1994: 201) says:

A national culture is a discourse, a way to construct meanings which influence and organize both our actions and our perceptions of ourselves. National cultures construct identities by creating meanings of ‘the nation’ with which we can identify; they are contained in stories that are told about the nation, in memories which link its present to its past and in the perceptions of it that are constructed. (Quoted in de Cillia *et al*, 1999: 155) Nevertheless, in spite of the slight differences the researchers presented above may have

when discussing nation and identity, they all agree on the fact that national identity is the result of a systematic construction rather than a naturally occurring phenomenon. This goes hand in glove with Bourdieu’s affirming that:

Through classification systems (especially according to sex and age) inscribed in law, through bureaucratic procedures, educational structures and social rituals, (particularly

salient in the case of Japan and England), the state moulds *mental structures* and imposes common principles of vision and division. (1994: 7. quoted in de Cillia *et al*, 1999: 156) It is worth noting that national identity construction is not carried out only by the state or a country's ruling organ but also by religious or pressure group leaders, and even every citizen at large. Both the state and other identity construction activists mostly rely on discourse (that is, text and talk) to achieve their objectives, as it is the case of the Southern Cameroonian and Catalan independence movements.

- **Discourse in identity construction**

Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) posit that every aspect of our world is shaped by discourse. As a matter of fact, being exposed to different discourses on a daily bases often make us take them for granted. Most of the discourses are already rooted in our minds to the extent that we forget they are abstract and theoretical constructs. Phillips and Jorgensen (*ibid*) refer to our taking discourses for granted as *sedimentation*. These taken-for-granted discourses, also known as hegemonic discourses, are pervasive in many spheres of life. Some of them include discourses of ethnicity, gender, religion, race, etc. Nevertheless, these discourses are often questioned, opposed or discarded given the fact that identity is has never been a clearly defined concept.

As far as the link between identity formation and discourse is concerned, Phillips and Jorgensen indicate that there is a kind of interdependence between the former (identity formation) and the latter (discourse). In other words, as Jensen (2008:14) points out, “a group becomes constituted once someone articulates it: that is speaks of it, to it, or on behalf of it. (for more on this, see Howarth, 2000, Phillip and Jorgensen, 2002). Furthermore, as we pointed out earlier, constructing one's group identity cannot be complete without asserting the extent to which one's group differs from other groups; this is referred to as *social antagonism* (Jensen, 2008). In addition to emphasizing alleged unique features shared by the expected in-groups, and thus excluding the supposed out-groups, social antagonism is often a

way of justifying a group's failed attempts to achieve complete autonomy and full identity, by laying the blame on members of the opposing groups.

There have been a certain number of research works aimed at discussing identity from a purely Critical Discourse Analysis point of view. One of the major ones of such studies is Wodak *et al.*'s *The Discursive Construction of National Identities* (1999), which was mentioned when describing the Discourse-Historical Approach. In addition to this, other studies discussing either ethnic (sub-national identities) or national identities have been carried out. Here, it is worthy to mention Jensen's (2008) investigation of the Post-Apartheid construction of Afrikaner identity in South Africa. This study which relies on a series of talks follows the Discourse-Historical Approach. Its author's original claim and conclusion are that the end of apartheid in South Africa has not fully erased the previous constructions of the Afrikaner identity in Discourse. In the same way as Jensen, Alameda Hernández (2006) set out to investigate the discursive construction and representation of the Gibraltarian identity by both insiders and outsiders (notably the British and the Spanish). This work, which mostly relied on a corpus of news editorials from various sources, demonstrates that meanwhile Gibraltarians perceive themselves as a united and politically mature nation, the British and the Spanish mostly consider them as (potential) subjects. Finally, it is worthy to mention the work of Huang Hoon (2004) who carried out a study of stamp texts to see how these reflected attempts at constructing a Singaporean identity. In her analysis, she demonstrates that by presenting some of the country's achievements, the stamps all aim at creating a sense of pride and belonging amongst all Singaporeans.

In conclusion, we can say that Critical Discourse Analysis is a field of study which aims at discussing the extent to which power relations are represented in discourse. This field of study is therefore an interdisciplinary approach which combines elements from different scholarly traditions and ideological thoughts. Therefore, CDA is made up of different

approaches which reflect its authors' influences. The research work we are to carry out will be guided by Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach which has the advantage of having been extensively used to study national identity construction. This approach will be complemented by Chilton's Discourse-Space Model, through which we can fully describe how space is created and enforced in discourse. Finally, this work is based on the firm belief that identity, be it national, ethnic or religious is not to be taken for granted, for it is constructed and enforced through discourse. Moreover, the construction of identity always involves the rejection of other identities, which gives way to what is known as social antagonism. Therefore, it is from this basis that the present investigation is carried out, as it seems that the current revamping of nationalism in Southern Cameroons and Catalonia is the result of the myriad of discourses which all aim at building those social groups. Before going to that analysis, it is worth having a look at our research background. This shall be done in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Research background and corpus

The present work is an investigation of the construction of national identity amongst minority groups in Spain and Cameroon. As concerns Spain, the region (or nationality) we set out to study is Catalonia, whose people have recently been very vocal in their struggle for self-determination and independence. Then in Cameroon we are going to study the so-called Anglophones, that is, the natives of the former British Southern Cameroons territory, which, when granted independence, reunited with the former French Cameroons to form the current Republic of Cameroon. This chapter is specifically aimed at giving a better understanding of the two territories at stake by presenting their general characteristics. It also aims at discussing the different scholarly works which have dealt with the Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalism. Finally, it presents the pieces of discourse which are going to be studied and their context of production. Therefore, a general presentation of Cameroon will be given, and followed by a review of scholarly publications about the Anglophone plight. Then the same is going to be done for Catalonia, and we shall move on to the presentation and description of the pieces of discourse to be analysed.

3.1 Cameroon

Cameroon, officially known as the Republic Cameroon (*La république du Cameroun* in French) is located in the part of the Gulf of Guinea known as Central Africa, with coasts spreading from the Bonny Bay to the Ntem Estuary. It has a total surface area of 475,440 square kilometres and shares borders with the Republic of Chad to the North, the Central African Republic to the East, Federal Republic of Nigeria to the West, and the Republics of Gabon, Congo and Equatorial Guinea to the South (Kouega, 2008: 1). Cameroon is commonly referred to as “the Small Africa” or “Africa in miniature”, as it encompasses all the African diversity in terms of race, ethnicity, languages, and geography.

As a matter of fact, Cameroon spreads across three distinct geographical zones (the Forest, the Savannah, and the Coast), and has been the destination of numerous groups of migrants who have contributed to its cultural diversity. The 2006 population census indicates that Cameroon is home to about 20 million inhabitants, which belong to about 247 ethnic groups (Echu, 2003), with as many indigenous languages. Cameroonians fall within three religious groups, namely Christians, Muslims or Animists. The country is also home to various communities from other countries such as Nigeria, Mali, Senegal, Greece, Lebanon, etc. The complex colonial history of Cameroon (which shall be subsequently presented) made it an officially bilingual country with its two official languages being English and French. The current President, Paul Biya has been in power for over 33 years.

3.1.1 Brief history¹⁰

Cameroon has been inhabited from prehistoric times. Nevertheless, the country's history really begins in 1472, when Fernando Poo, a Portuguese explorer arrived at the country's coast, and paved the way to commercial relations between Europeans and the coastal indigenous tribes. On July 14th 1884 the German flag was hoisted in KamerunStadt (Douala) by Gustav Nachtigal, a German trader and explorer. This happened two days after the signature of a treaty between the Germans and Duala chiefs. That is how Cameroon became a German Protectorate.

The outbreak of World War I led to the premature end of the German colonial rule. In effect, at the onset of the War, German positions became the target of allied forces from French Equatorial Africa and British Nigeria, and by 1916, the Germans had been successfully driven out of the country. After the German defeat, the country was partitioned into two territories: British Cameroons –made up of Northern and Southern Cameroons- in the West, and French Cameroon in the East. Both colonial powers, who administered Cameroon under the mandate

¹⁰ The facts given in this section are taken from Mveng, A. (1983) *Histoire du Cameroun*. Yaounde:CEPER and Ngoh, V.J. (1996) *History of Cameroon since 1980*. Limbe: Pressbook.

of the League of Nations decided to apply their distinct colonial policies in the territories, thus creating linguistic and cultural differences which became more noticeable when French Eastern Cameroon and British Southern Cameroons reunited in 1961. Instead of reuniting with French Cameroon, the Northern part of the English-administered territory (British Northern Cameroon) opted for integration into the Nigerian federation.

These historical happenings made Cameroon's early language policy makers adopt a French-English official language status as clearly stated in Article 1, Paragraph 3 of the Cameroon Constitution¹¹ which stipulates,

The official languages of the, Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status. The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavour to protect and promote national languages. The use of the two official languages shall be discussed subsequently.

3.1.2 The country's political system

The State of Cameroon is a Presidential Republic which is divided into 10 administrative regions headed by President-appointed governor. Nevertheless, Cameroon's government has recently promised to devolve more powers to the regions in a bid to implement the constitutional reforms that were passed in 1996. Administrative Regions in Cameroon are divided into Divisions (*Departements* in French) and Sub-Divisions (French, *Arrondissements*) at the helm of which are Senior Divisional Officers (*Préfets* in French) and Divisional Officers (*Sous-Préfets* in French) respectively. As we mentioned before, the country is a Presidential republic. Therefore, the President enjoys many prerogatives as Head of State and Commander-in-chief of the Army. Nevertheless, the country has a bicameral legislative system, with a National Assembly and a Senate, as well as a judicial system based on the English Common Law and the French Civil Code (see Cameroon Constitution).

¹¹ The 2008 constitution can be accessed at <http://africaagenda.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Const.ofCameroon2008.pdf>

Theoretically, there should be a clear separation between those powers, but unfortunately, this is not always true on the field.

Cameroon's official bilingualism is thus the direct result of colonialism. This bilingualism, which is undoubtedly an asset for the country, especially on the international arena, has also become a liability when it comes to relations between Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians. As a matter of fact, the former French colony covers three quarters of the overall Cameroon territory and population, and most of Cameroon's neighbouring countries are French speaking. This has led to the political and economic domination of Francophones over the Anglophone population from the former British Southern Cameroons, such domination leading many Anglophones to feel ostracised, marginalised and rejected in a country which is supposed to be theirs. (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997; Fochingong, 2013) In a country where all citizens should strive to speak both official languages, more pressure has been exerted on the Anglophones to speak French than the way round. Therefore, a good part of English-Speaking Cameroonians see themselves as second-class citizens, and more so because, despite the many promises made by the Cameroon government to devolve powers to local authorities, centralisation is still the order of the day, making some anglophones see their situation as a kind of colonialism.

3.2 The Anglophone identity in scholarly works

The Anglophone issue in Cameroon has been studied by a good number of authors whose studies attempted to understand the intricacies of the current antagonism between French-speaking and English-speaking Cameroonians. In the next subheadings, we shall present some of the main themes which cut across those studied and further explain them by making comments based on the researcher's firsthand experience and knowledge of the Anglophone struggle.



Map 3.1. The two English-Speaking administrative regions of Cameroon¹²

3.2.1 Remote causes of the Anglophone struggle

The remote causes of the Anglophone struggle can be described as historical but also political. So works which got into them often fell within those disciplines (History or Political Science). The Francophone-Anglophone divide in Cameroon began for sure after the German lost the First World War and saw their colony of Kamerun partitioned into two territories administered the countries which had had the upper hand over Germany, namely Britain and France. Nevertheless, as Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) and Kam kah (2012) point out, grudges amongst some Anglophones started emerging at the eve of independence, when the former French and British territories were about to reunify. The reunification was to be negotiated at a conference held in Foumban, a city found on the French side of the Northern border between both territories. Konings and Nyamnjoh (*ibid.*) indicate that the Foumban Conference made some Anglophone leaders sense the future domination of their French-speaking counterparts over them.

¹² Downloaded from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41442330> (accessed on 08/12/2017)

Five years later, their fears became reality when Ahmadou Ahidjo, the Francophone President of Cameroon, signed a decree dissolving all political parties (including the ones from the Anglophone territory) in order to implement the one-party system he masterminded (Konings and Nyamnjoh, *ibid.*). The political oppression and the violation of human rights which marked Ahidjo's 22-year rule caused growing resentment in Anglophone Cameroonians, who started realising that unification might have been a mistake. Nevertheless, it is only after the reintroduction of multiparty politics in the early 1990's and the restoration of freedom of speech that the grievances would become evident.

3.2.2 Economic, social and political reasons behind Anglophone nationalism

The research work carried out by Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) gives us some social, economic and political reasons which might have motivated the rise of Anglophone nationalism in Cameroon. According to the researchers, the main social factor behind the rise and spread of Anglophone nationalism is the subjugation of Anglophone Cameroonians to the Francophones in all spheres of national life. This is, according to the researchers coupled with Southern Cameroonians' feeling that their territory has been totally abandoned by the Cameroon central administration. The claims made by Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) are reinforced by Fochingong (2013), who goes deep into describing the extent to which Anglophone Cameroonians are marginalised, as evidenced by their branding as foreigners or enemies of the nation, the total abandonment of their territory, which contributes much to Cameroon's overall wealth, and their low representation in decision-making organs. Fochingong (2013) also states that before the marginalization of Anglophones the Francophone-dominated government of Cameroon enforced a policy of assimilation, which was evidenced by a strong desire on the part of Francophone Cameroonian authorities to assimilate Anglophone territories at different levels such as education, law, and other institutions.

3.2.3 Antagonism amongst Anglophones

Another important topic being discussed in scholarly publications related to the Anglophone issue in Cameroon, is the absence of total unity between Anglophone Cameroonians. Dissension between Southern Cameroonians is often expressed by the elite from the various ethnic groups and regions that make up the community. This topic is mentioned by Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997), and Fochingong (2013), and lengthily discussed by Kam Kah (2012). According to Kam Kah, rivalry between Southern Cameroonians span from the fact that, though they are all English-speaking and were all under British rule, tribal groups making up Southern Cameroons have different cultures, which can be grouped into two broad ethnicities. As a matter of fact ethnic groups on the coastal regions share a lot in common with each other than with ethnic groups from the hinterlands (grassfields) which also form a homogeneous community.

According to Kam Kah, the antagonism between Southern Cameroonians from the coast and those from the hinterlands started during German rule, which led to the Grassfielders' massive migration to the coast in order to work on cash crop farms that had been set up by the Germans. After the Germans left, many of these people from the hinterlands took control of the plantations and started dominating indigenes of the area. This is why, members of coastal tribes have often stated that they are threatened by the so-called *Grafi* (From adulterated pronunciation of "grassfield") expansionism. Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) add that Cameroon's Francophone-dominated administration has always made use of these internal dissensions to resist the formation of a separate nation amongst Anglophone Cameroonians.

3.2.4 Defining the word "Anglophone".

The ambiguity of the term anglophone in Cameroon is another topic which has been extensively discussed in scholarly publications. Until very recently, this word was used to refer to the natives of Southern Cameroons, as only them could speak English in Cameroon.

Nevertheless, the English language started gaining ground, not only internationally, but also in Cameroon. Therefore, as Anchimbe (2005) notes, more people from Francophone regions traded French for English education and many of them gained proficiency in English. Despite the fact that these people are proficient in English, Anchimbe (ibid) suggests that the term Anglophone has not been readily attributed to them and that it is an ongoing debate in Cameroon. As a matter of fact, being an Anglophone in Cameroon goes beyond proficiency in English to encompass things like ethnicity, ability to speak pidgin English, just to name a few. Whatever the case, it is clear that the recent interest Francophones have developed in the English language and institutions in Cameroon poses a serious threat to members of Southern Cameroonian nationalist movement, because very soon, their ability to speak English will no longer be an important instrument for the construction of separation.

3.3 Catalonia

Catalonia is a region found in the North-Eastern corner of Spain, just south of the Pyrenees, which separate it from Southern France. It is always presented by Catalan nationalists as one of the most prosperous regions of Spain and attracts a lot of investment, given its strategic location between France and Spain and on the Mediterranean (See Mas's Acceptance Speech). Catalonia's peculiarity lies in its distinct language and long history of political struggle with the Spanish State.



Map 3.2 Catalonia¹³

3.3.1 Remote history

According to Amorós i Pla (2009) from the 9th century, Catalonia was a confederation of several counties including Roussillon, Cerdanya, Ampurias, Urgell, Osona, Girona and Barcelona. From the outset, those counties were vassals of Frankish Kingdoms that had reconquered the Iberian Peninsula after the Moslem occupation. During the Reign of Count Wilfred the Hairy (Guifré el Pelós), Barcelona became the most influential county, ruling over all other Catalan territories as well as parts of Occitania and Aragon, just to name these. Then, by the end of the 10th century, following the marriage of Ramon Berenguer VI (the Count of Barcelona) with Princess Petronilla of Aragon, Catalonia had become part of the wider Kingdom of Aragon. Nevertheless, the territory maintained a local administration within the Crown of Aragon, as evidenced by the creation of the *Corts Catalanes* (Catalan Courts) and the subsequent foundation of the *Generalitat* in 1359 by Peter the Great (Peter III

¹³ Downloaded from <http://www.somtribune.com/2017/10/04/spains-flawed-response-catalonian-referendum/> (accessed on 08/12/2017)

of Aragon or Pere III as the Catalans call him). This date, which is often mentioned in Catalan independence discourse, is according to Catalan nationalists a landmark in their history.

In 1469 Ferdinand, ruler of Aragon, wedded Isabella of Castile, thus forming a Castilian-Aragonese confederation. This union did not however mean the disappearance of Catalonia, as the monarchs pledged to respect the various institutions and constitutions of the territories making up the confederation. Nevertheless, after a period of relative tranquility, Catalonia became the centre of several politically-motivated conflicts. Given its geographical location, the leaders of France and Spain always wanted to exert more influence on Catalonia, thus the signing of many treaties and decrees which seriously affected its fate. In the 16th Century, the Treaty of the Pyrenees, resulted in the severing of the historical territory of Catalonia, as all its dependencies found in the North of the Pyrenees were annexed by the French. The hardest blow to Catalan independence was certainly the 18th Century *Nueva Planta* Decree by King Philip V, which made Spain a unitary country governed from Castile, thus abolishing all autonomous governments, including that of Catalonia. This is known in history as the first abolition, which resulted in Catalonia becoming a full part of Spain. Spain was no longer a confederation of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, but a highly centralized state, an alleged nation.

Unexpectedly, the centralization of Spain had the effect of reinforcing Catalan nationalism, which became more assertive and evident in 19th century arts, architecture and language. This struggle earned the Catalans the restoration of their local government in the early 20th century. As a matter of fact, between the end of the 19th century and the early 1900's a group of Catalan politicians having a clearly nationalist agenda started exerting much pressure on the Spanish government. The group, which was headed by Enric Prat de la Riba, believed that by achieving greater autonomy, they would be able to speed up the development of the territory by fostering technical education, agriculture and commerce or opening libraries and

museums just to name a few¹⁴. The Spanish government then decided to let the four provinces of Catalonia (Barcelona, Gerona, Tarragona and Lleida) form an autonomous commonwealth. Nevertheless, after Primo de Rivera's coup in 1923, the Catalan Commonwealth witnessed opposition from the new Spanish ruler who saw regionalism as a threat to Spanish unity. The institution was thus dissolved in 1925. Subsequently, Catalonia became one of the hotspots of growing opposition against the Spanish monarchy, which led to the proclamation the Spanish republic in 1931. In fact, after the dissolution of the Commonwealth in 1925, Francesc Macià, a Catalan Republican, decided to take up weapons in order to restore the statehood of Catalonia. After the proclamation of the Spanish Republic in 1931, Macià's party, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC) (The Republican Left of Catalonia) won the elections, leading Macià to proclaim a the independence of Catalonia. Nevertheless, he ended up having an autonomy deal with the Spanish Republican government and was President of the *Generalitat* until his death in 1933. Therefore, unsurprisingly, when monarchist Francisco Franco got the upper hand after three years of civil war (1936-1939), he set out to abolish the autonomous government of Catalonia and crackdown on any attempt at asserting the Catalan identity. This came to be known as the second abolition, which lasted until the death of Franco and transition to democracy in 1975¹⁵.

3.3.2 Catalonia, the Church and Franco's Regime

Catalonia was, as mentioned before, one of the main targets of Franco in his attempts at unifying Spain and making it a nation indeed. So, during Franco's regime, the Catalan parliament and other regional institutions were totally dissolved, and the government cracked down on any attempt on the part of catalans to express a distinct identity. Nevertheless, as Dowling (2013: 4 introduction) notes, Franco found resistance where he least expected, that

¹⁴ More on this at <https://www.gencat.cat/generalitat/cas/guia/antecedents/antecedents13.htm> (last accessed on July 27 2015)

¹⁵ For more on Catalan history, see Amoros I Pla, 2009; Dowling 2013.

is, in the church. In fact, it is worth-noting that Franco was highly motivated by the desire to uphold the traditional values of Spain, including the Monarchy and Roman Catholicism, when he carried out his political coup. So it could have been a great shock for him to face opposition from the Catalan branch of the very church he vowed to defend to death. As a matter of fact, the church played a very important role in maintaining the Catalan language (whose official use was forbidden) by publishing books and making use of the language in ecclesiastic celebrations. Talking about this, Dowling (2013: 5 introduction) says:

Innumerable publications, magazines, parish bulletins and so on emerged through the church in the 1950`s using Catalan as their medium. Between 1939 and 1976, over 1,200 books on religious subjects were published in the Catalan language and until the mid 1940`s these were the only books published in Catalan. The first wave of post-war Catalan literature also shares the mores of Catholicism, and can be said to have been imbued with a cultural relationship to Catholicism.

Right after the 1960`s a business class emerged in Catalonia and continued the fight for the recognition of their identity, using the political and economic influence they had at stake for that to happen.

Overall, the amount of freedom the church had made it one of the major agents when it came to resisting the total assimilation of Catalonia by Spain. Later on, it is from the same church that emerged a local bourgeoisie who opposed the then status quo and pushed for the democratization of Spain.

3.3.3 Current situation

Catalonia is constitutionally an Autonomous Community within the Kingdom of Spain, and is constitutionally recognised as a distinct “nationality” of Spain. As Amoros i Plá (2009: 40) suggests, Catalonia is also Spain’s most prosperous Autonomous Community, as its geographical position has made it attract a lot of investment and tourists. According to Amoros i Plá, the economic stability of Catalonia has been very beneficial to other Spanish regions. At times, this situation has happened at the expense of Catalonia itself. Therefore, Amoros i Plá states that “a més, en el darrers cent anys, Catalunya ha contribuït com ningú al

progrés del conjunt de l'Estat espanyol. Ara és l'hora, doncs, que se'ns reconegui aquesta important ajuda i no és dreni de forma forassenyada la nostra economia”¹⁶ Nowadays, the Catalan *Generalitat* (autonomous government) enjoys a considerable amount of autonomy within the Spanish state and, as of 2010, has been headed by Catalan nationalists, who do not see autonomy as sufficient, but aim at obtaining complete independence from Spain. The current president of the Generalitat of Catalonia is Carles Puigdemont, who came to power in early 2016, after his predecessor, Artur Mas (whose speeches are studied in this work) could not secure enough votes to be reelected. Nevertheless, Puigdemont and Mas belong to the same political party and have the same line of thought when it comes to Catalan nationalism and independence. As the subsequent literature review clearly illustrates, the nationalist debate is an ongoing situation which involves several considerations, be they political, cultural, economic and linguistic. The essence of this work, as a reminder, is to describe how independence and separation are constructed in Southern Cameroonian and Catalan independentist discourse. In other words, our research endeavour is based on the desire to illustrate the extent to which language has been used to widen the gap between Spain and Catalonia on the one hand, and Cameroon and Southern Cameroons on the other hand. Prior to delving into our subject matter proper, it is worth looking at previous research endeavour discussing the plight of Catalonia and its people.

3.4 Catalonia in research works

Several researchers have embarked on studies aimed at presenting the Catalan issue from several perspectives, most of these studies were carried out within the fields of history, sociology and political science.

¹⁶ What's more, in the last century, Catalonia has contributed more than anyone to the progress of the whole of the Spanish State. Therefore, the time has come to recognise that important help and to stop draining absurdly our economy.

3.4.1 The development of Catalanism

Catalanism is an ideology based on the support and praise of Catalonia and its people as a distinct national identity and an homogeneous linguistic group. One of the first scholars who made use of this word is Catalan historiographer Valentí Almirall in his 1886 work *lo Catalanisme. Motius que'l legitimen, fonaments científics i solucions pràctiques*¹⁷. Catalanism is a word scholars now frequently use when referring to Catalan nationalism. This idea has been discussed in great length by a lot of authors including Requejo Coll (2009) and Dowling (2013) whose work actually caught our attention. In fact, Dowling makes it clear that Catalanism was spread in the same way as other nationalist ideas. According to him that spread can be likened to Miroslaw Hroch's three-stage model. As a matter of fact, Catalanism started with the spread of linguistic, cultural and social attributes in a bid to build a national consciousness. Then came activists who attempted to raise awareness about the constructed identity. Finally, a mass movement emerged and was split into conservative, liberal and democratic branches. Dowling (2013:10) notes that "each phase corresponds with the periods 1830-1870, 1870-1898 and post 1898"

3.4.2 The historiographical construction of Catalanism

This has been studied in great details by historian Jaume Aurell (2001). According to him, Catalan nationalism has always been motivated by two forces, namely tradition and modernity. In fact, Catalan nationalists have relied on the past to build a solid foundation for their movement and then establish prospects for the future. He then sets out to study the intellectual and ideological foundational bases of the Catalan imaginary community, with a closer look at historiology and historiography. As Jaume Aurell work suggests, the opposition between Spain and Catalonia also had an intellectual facet, and Catalan nationalism has been encoded in a lot of historiographies. He takes the example of Victor Balaguer, who, criticising

¹⁷ Catalanism. Reasons for its legitimacy, scientific foundations and practical solutions (my translation)

the work of Spanish historiographers stated that “Castilla es España para los historiadores generales. Hablan siempre del pendón castellano, de los leones, de las torres, de las glorias y libertades castellanas, y escriben muy satisfechos la historia de Castilla creyendo escribir la de España. Grave error¹⁸” (Quoted in Jaume Aurell, 2001: 267). Moreover he mentions other Catalan historiographers who have also been very critical of official Spanish historiography. They include researchers such as Pi i Margall, Pompeu Gener and Valentí Almirall, just to name a few. Aurell indicates that Gener for example went as far as describing the Spanish presence in Catalonia as the direct result of Castilian colonisation, while Almirall gives alleged scientific reasons for the inability of Catalonia and Spain to get along. All these works had the effect of consolidating a sense of Catalonia as a distinct nation, thus leading various Spanish governments to attempt to address this issue.

3.4.3 Catalonia within the Spanish Statute of Autonomies

To talk about the status of Catalonia, it is very important to get a broad idea of the constitutional provisions of Spain concerning the different nations making up its territory. As a reminder, Spain is a constitutional monarchy which recognizes the existence of different nations, within its territory. The relationship between these nations and the state have been codified in the so-called “estado de las autonomias”, that is the regional Statutes of Autonomies. In fact, as Requejo Coll (2009: 11-14) suggests when diving deep into the historical development of that “estado de autonomias”, the current Statutes of Autonomies is the result of a lot of political reforms which started in the late 70’s when Spain transitioned to democracy. Since then, successive political parties have moved towards devolving more competence to autonomous communities. Nevertheless, Requejo Coll insists on the fact that though the Statutes of Autonomies aimed at giving a symmetrical treatment to all Autonomous Communities, some have received more political attention in terms of self-

¹⁸ Castile is Spain for general historiographers, they always talk about the Castilian Banner, the Lions, the Towers, about the glories and liberties of Castile, and they are proud of writing Castilian history, thinking they are writing Spanish history. Terrible mistake” (My translation)

determination. To illustrate this, he talks about the economic agreement between the Basque Country, Navarre and the Spanish state, which the constitution makes provision of (Requejo Coll, 2009: 10-11). He suggests, the cases of Navarre and the Basque Country might have been motivated by the Basque's taking up weapons against the Spanish state.

Talking about the Catalan Statute of Autonomy specifically, Requejo Coll (2009: 15) indicates that it was adopted in 1979 and underwent a major reform between 2004 and 2005, whose aim was threefold, namely cultural, political and economic. In fact, the objectives of the reform were to establish national distinctiveness, to increase self government and to reduce the impact of the Spanish fiscal deficit on Catalonia.

The 2004-2005 reform of the Catalan Statute of Autonomy actually marks the beginning of this new round of conflict between the territory and the Spanish state. In fact, the document as presented to the Spanish parliament described Catalonia as a "nation" and went on to describe a series of national symbols including the flag, the anthem, as well as sports teams. This reform also consolidated the authority of the Catalan High Court and reaffirmed the position of the Catalan language as a requirement for taking any position in the Catalan administration. Last but not the least, this reform also made provision for Catalan Foreign Relations, which if not rejected would have been a serious affirmation of Catalan independence, knowing that even in a highly autonomous territory like Hong Kong, international relations are managed by China. As Requejo Coll (2009: 19) indicates, the reform sparked a lot of controversy within Spain leading Catalan leaders amend some of its provisions. Therefore, instead of calling Catalonia a nation, the word "nationality" was preferred, and some national symbols found in the draft statute such as "sport teams", as well as international policy were simply taken away from the Statute.

This Statute of Autonomy was finally passed in 2006, despite its rejection by *Partido Popular* (PP) then the main opposition party in Spain. That is why once the PP got to power again,

they started challenging the current Catalan Statute of Autonomy, thus igniting the ongoing political crisis between Spain and the Catalonia.

3.4.4 Correlation between sociological variables and attachment to nationalism

This idea was studied by Martinez-Herrera and Barceló-Soler (2014) in an article whose aim was to carry out a sociological investigation of the different variables that can be controlled in order to understand where political inclination lies. Here, the authors rely on two independent variables, namely origin and mother tongue (and a battery of control variables), to assess attitudes towards nationalism and identity in Spain. They pay a special attention to Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia which have been historically known for their strong attachment to self-determination as well as Andalusia and Valencia whose allegiance to Spain was until very recently unchallenged. This work is based on the assumption that:

las características socio-estructurales de origen territorial y lenguas familiares tienen poder predictivo incluso cuando se considera al mismo tiempo la identidad nacional, indicando que la interpretación nacional no es homogénea de unos grupos de origen familiar y lingüísticos a otros. (5)¹⁹

According to their findings, there is a stronger association between origin and nationalism in Catalonia and the Basque country than in the other communities. As a matter of fact, as concerns Catalonia, 81 percent of the respondents born in Catalonia and of Catalan descent state they feel predominantly or only Catalan. They also find out that language is also a strong identity marker in Catalonia, and a stronger marker in Galicia. Overall, Catalonia and the Basque Country have the highest percentage of strong nationalists than any other Autonomous community studied in the article.

Martinez-herrera and Barceló-Soler conclude by saying that in Catalonia, as well as in the Basque country and Galicia, it is possible to predict a person's attachment to nationalism by simply knowing their ethnic origin and home language. They also posit that a significant percentage of first-generation Catalans (those whose parents are from other regions of Spain,

¹⁹ Sociocultural characteristics of territorial origin and home languages have a predictive power even when national identity is also considered. Our findings indicate that national interpretation is not the same from a group of people having the same family origin and linguistic affiliations to another. (My translation)

but who were born in Catalonia) show a strong support for Catalan nationalism. This fact may indicate that the Catalan system of education has been quite successful in developing in Catalans of foreign origin a sense of belonging, which is clearly evidenced by the fact that many Catalans of foreign origin are now fierce advocates of independence.

3.5 Corpus

Now that the geographical, social and political contexts of the countries and territories under study have been given, it is worth discussing the pieces of discourse that are going to be analyzed in the subsequent chapters of this write-up. These pieces of discourse will be presented individually, in terms of when they were released, their authors and their main point. We shall subdivide this part into two subsections, focusing on Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse on the one hand, and Catalan speeches on the other hand.

At this juncture, it is very important to reiterate that all the pieces of discourse to be studied in this write-up were published between 2010 and 2015, years which have been very significant at the local and international levels.

3.5.1 Southern Cameroonian Discourse

- **How they were collected**

As we mentioned before, finding pieces of discourse related to the Southern Cameroonian independence movement was a very difficult task. In fact, given the illegal nature of groups calling for secession in Cameroon, they don't have popular rallies and their meetings are often held at undercover locations. Moreover, it is always very hard to have access to reliable written documents from such groups, as most of them prefer to keep their communications secret, so as not to face criminal charges. This is the reason why we couldn't stick to a single discourse genre when dealing with Southern Cameroons, because their amount wouldn't match that of Catalonia, where the independence movement is fully legal and active in the political arena. Therefore, the Southern Cameroons body of text is going to include not only

speeches but also open letters from very well-known independence activists. Since the main objective of this work is to identify the linguistic strategies aimed at building national identity, we believe that having different genres will not affect negatively our overall results. All the pieces of discourse to be presented below were collected from websites or social media pages close to the groups at stake.

- **Speeches**

The speeches that are going to be analyzed in this paper were, as we mentioned earlier, published between 2010 and 2015. Our data collection activities yielded the identification of thirteen (13) speeches falling within the above year span. They are signed by the leaders of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) and the Ambazonia Restoration Council. The majority of the speeches were written on the occasions of New Year's Eve (2010, 2013, 2014, 2015) and Southern Cameroons Independence Day (2010 -Ayamba, Gorji Dinka, 2012, and Ngala Nfor, 2014). Table 3.1 lists those speeches in greater details.

- **Open letters**

Given the impossibility to build a reliable text body with only speeches, we decided to complete it with a few other pieces of discourse that were released by Southern Cameroonian independence activists and which deal specifically with identity construction and the struggle for independence. So we opted for open letters, which have the advantage of being very close to speeches in terms of structure (addresser speaking to an/ or various addressees) and style. The open letters target specific Southern Cameroonian or Cameroonian individuals, as well as members of the international community. As concerns their authors, all of them are recognised leaders of the different branches or subgroups spearheading the Southern Cameroons independence struggle. Nfor Ngala Nfor whose speeches will be analysed in this write-up also authored two of the open letters analysed here, while two of the three remaining ones were signed by Rev. Fr. Andrew Ambeazieh, who is the leader of another subgroup

known as the Southern Cameroons Independence Movement. More details of these are provided in Table 3.2.

| Speech | Author | Year of release | Word count |
|--|---------------------|-----------------|------------|
| New year message to the nation by the national chairman of the scnc and chancellor of the provisional administration of the federal republic of southern cameroons | Chief Ayamba | 2010 | 1330 |
| Scnc national chairman's address to the nation on the occasion of the 49th anniversary of the independence of southern cameroons | Chief Ayamba | 2010 | 1775 |
| Address to the nation and the people of Ambazonia | Fon Gorji Dinka | 2010 | 1016 |
| Address to the nation and people of ambazonia Silver jubilee | Fon Gorji Dinka | 2010 | 793 |
| Address to all Ambazonians on the occasion of the launching of the Ambazonian nationality campaigns | Fon Gorji Dinka | 2010 | 2035 |
| Fear changed sides | Fon Gorji Dinka | 2011 | 573 |
| Speech on the 51 st Anniversary of Southern Cameroons independence | Ngala Nfor Ngala | 2012 | 1859 |
| A Speech Presented by the Chairman of SCNC North America, Jude A. Ozughen on the SCNC North America Convention | Jude Ozughen | 2012 | 2220 |
| Message of the SCNC to the people of British Southern Cameroons end of year 2013 | Ngala Nfor Ngala | 2013 | 2064 |

| | | | |
|---|---------------------|------|------|
| Address on the occasion of the 53rd anniversary of the confiscated independence of British Southern Cameroons | Ngala Nfor Ngala | 2014 | 2289 |
| Message to the people of British Southern cameroons for the new year 2015 | Ngala Nfor Ngala | 2014 | 1616 |
| Message to British Southern Cameroons students on the occasion of student cultural week | Ngala Nfor Ngala | 2015 | 1931 |
| SCNC message to the people of British Southern Cameroons end of year 2015 | Ngala Nfor Ngala | 2015 | 2334 |

Table 3.1. Selected Southern Cameroons Speeches (2010-2015)

| Open Letter | Author-Recipient | Publication year | Word count |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Plot by President Paul Biya and m. John Fru Ndi with his Political cohorts and some misguided Southern Cameroonians to destroy the restoration of the nationhood of the Southern Cameroons | Andrew Ambeazieh- Ban Ki Moon | 2011 | 2208 |
| A memorandum of an earnest appeal for practical restoration of the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons in West Africa | Andrew Ambeazieh- Barack Obama | 2011 | 1907 |
| Open letter to mr. Marafa hamidou yaya,kondengui political | Ngala Nfor Ngala- Marafa Hamidou | 2012 | 1420 |

| | | | |
|--|---|------|-------|
| prison | Yaya (Former Cameroon Interior Minister) | | |
| Your plan to celebrate 1st October as re-Unification Day | Kelvin Ngwang Gumne and Augustine Ndangam- Paul Biya (Cameroon President) | 2012 | 16375 |
| An open letter to the political leaders and elites of British Southern Cameroons | Ngala Nfor Ngala- Southern Cameroons Political elite | 2015 | 2795 |

Table 3.2. Selected Southern Cameroons open letters (2010-2015)

3.5.2 Catalan Speeches

Collecting speeches from Catalonia was the easiest part of our data collection endeavour, given the fact that, as opposed to Cameroon, nationalist parties in Spain can be legalised and involved in mainstream politics without being afraid of any sorts of political persecution. This was even easier as the leader we intended to focus our analysis on was President of the Catalan Autonomous government and therefore gave a lot of speeches at the different ceremonies he attended or on different occasions related to Catalonia. All the speeches were made available on the official website²⁰ of the Catalan *Generalitat* and were thus collected for the purpose of this work. As mentioned earlier in this work, we decided to focus solely on Artur Mas's speeches, as the analysis of these clearly gave us a general overview of the way nationalism is discursively constructed amongst Catalan politicians as a whole.

However, not all of the many speeches found on the *Generalitat*'s website dealt directly with national identity. Many of them were related to other specific issues falling within Artur

²⁰ http://www.president.cat/pres_gov/president/ca/president-mas/discursos.html (last accessed on 12-10-2016)

Mas's institutional agenda as President of the Catalan autonomous government. Moreover given the fact that this work was primarily meant to be comparative and that there were not as many speeches on the Southern Cameroon side, it was necessary, for parallelism's sake to somehow reduce the number of Catalan speeches to be analysed. Therefore, 15 speeches whose details are given in Table 3.3. below were selected and analysed.

| Speech | Author | Year of release | Word count |
|---|---------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Discurs d'investitura | Artur Mas | 2010 | 9717 |
| Discurs del President de la Generalitat en l'acte de presa de possessió | Artur Mas | 2010 | 1636 |
| Mitssage institucional del president de la Generalitat amb motiu del Cap d'Any | Artur Mas | 2011 | 1286 |
| Intervenció del president de la generalitat després de la reunió amb el president Mariano Rajoy | Artur Mas | 2012 | 2464 |
| Missatge institucional del president de la generalitat amb motiu de la Diada Nacional de Catalunya | Artur Mas | 2012 | 1229 |
| Intervenció del president de la generalitat al foro nueva economía | Artur Mas | 2012 | 7049 |
| Intervenció del president de la generalitat en el marc del sopar ofert amb motiu de la cimera del BCE | Artur Mas | 2012 | 530 |
| Discurs del president de la generalitat en el debat de política general | Artur Mas | 2013 | 13861 |
| Discurs del president mas en la celebració del centenari de la Mancomunitat | Artur Mas | 2014 | 3010 |

| | | | |
|--|-----------|------|------|
| Missatge institucional del president de la generalitat amb motiu de la diada nacional de Catalunya | Artur Mas | 2014 | 1043 |
| Mitssage del president de la generalitat amb motiu del cap d'any | Artur Mas | 2014 | 1005 |
| Crida de Sant Jordi 2014 del president Mas | Artur Mas | 2014 | 704 |
| Declaració institucional del president després de la signatura del decret deconvocatòria de la consulta | Artur Mas | 2014 | 1453 |
| Conferència del president de la Generalitat a “Moment Zero” | Artur Mas | 2015 | 3756 |
| Declaració institucional del president de Generalitat (després de signar el decret de convocatòria de les eleccions al Parlament de Catalunya) | Artur Mas | 2015 | 590 |

Table 3.3 Selected Mas's speeches

3.5.3 Data analysis software

Given the fact that this research work is both qualitative and quantitative, it was necessary to carry out a software analysis of the speeches which were presented earlier, as concordance, collocations and statistics would help better understand some topics being discussed by nationalist leaders in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons. Therefore, we decided to use AntConc, which proved to be a very effective tool in our research endeavour. AntConc is a concordancer developed by Laurence Anthony, who is currently the Director of the Centre for English Language Education at Waseda University in Japan. The advantage of this software package is that it can be downloaded for free from the Internet and enables one to carry out a skindeep analysis of text. It includes seven tools, namely Concordance, Concordance Plot,

File View, Cluster/N-grams, Collocates, Word List and Keyword List²¹. Its availability, reliability, user-friendliness and free licence convinced us to choose and use it throughout our research endeavour.

3.6 Difficulties encountered when collecting data

Overall collecting texts from Catalonia was quite easy, though at the beginning the researcher did not know what to do in order to get the texts, he talked to his supervisor who got in touch with the communication department of Artur Mas's party. This is how we got the link to the speeches which we could download and select those which were salient enough to be used in this work.

When it comes to Southern Cameroons, it was a different ball game, in the sense that even when one finally contacts members of the groups involved in the Anglophone struggle they are suspicious and do not easily give out the information one wishes to obtain. Concretely the researcher has been collecting data related to Southern Cameroonian Independence movements since 2013. A facebook address was used to get in touch with independence activists, who thus sent me links to the websites where the speeches and the other pieces of text analysed here were downloaded. Given their illegal nature, secessionist groups in Cameroon are poorly organised, constantly change and never really archive their documents. This really complicated our research work. More to that, the time scope of this research work made things even more difficult, as amongst Anglophone secessionists, speeches are often destroyed after they have been given so as to avoid keeping evidence which could be used against them in courts of law. Finally, we got hold of the thirteen (13) speeches which will be subsequently analysed and completed them with five (5) open letters.

To sum up, what can be said is that this work aims to be a discussion of nationalist groups in two distinct territories and political systems. The Southern Cameroonian nationalists groups

²¹More information about AntConc can be accessed at <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html>

are obliged to carry out underground operations because they are found in a highly centralised state where it is forbidden to even mention the partition of the territory. Catalan nationalists on the other hand are part and parcel of the political arena, both on the local and national levels. Though from the outset everything suggests wide differences between both groups, the data we collected actually brought out the fact that despite the geographical separation, political and cultural differences between the Southern Cameroonian and Catalan independence struggles, they share a lot, especially when talking about the linguistic strategies used to foster their agenda. All these are going to be discussed in the following Chapters (4 and 5), which represent the climax of this work.

Chapter 4 Results and discussion: Catalonia

This chapter is aimed at presenting the results we got from our reading and analysis of nationalist speeches from Catalonia. Here we are going to present the data according to Wodak's classification, giving as many examples of the strategies as possible. As a reminder, the purpose of this work is to investigate the construction of nationalism in Catalonia as well as in Southern Cameroons. As seen in Chapter 2, several micro strategies can be used to foment separation and thus call for complete independence. Such strategies include singularisation, autonomisation, assimilation and inclusion²². Wodak's framework which is the main theoretical approach been followed in this write up shall be completed by Chilton's Discourse Space Model, especially when discussing the representation of distance and closeness in Catalan nationalist discourse. In the subsequent subheadings we shall first present, exemplify, and analyse the strategies which were found in the speeches falling under Catalan nationalism.

| Strategies | Objective | Discursive strategies | Linguistics means |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Singularisation | Present Catalonia as unique in its kind | Topos of idyllic place, topos of history, topos of comparison | Superlatives, words expressing singularity and uniqueness, statistics, Lexemes expressing positive attributes |
| Autonomisation | Present Catalonia as a separate entity | Nomination and predication, intensification/ mitigation | Lexemes denoting territorial integrity, verbs and pronouns for in-group/ out-group separation, toponyms, demonyms |
| Unification and cohesivation | Encourage all Catalans to join the | Language choice, topos of unity, topos | Deontic modality (imperatives), |

²² Table 4.1 summarises them.

| | | | |
|--|---|--|--|
| | independence struggle by emphasising unifying factors | of comparison, topos of threat, topos of history as a teacher nomination | lexemes denoting encouragement or obligation, historical references |
| Assimilation, inclusion and continuation | Present Catalonia as a united whole, create a sense of continuation between historical and modern-day Catalan nationalism | Nomination and predication, topos of unity in diversity, same boat topos, topos of continuation, | First person verbs, sailing vocabulary, Metonymy and metaphorical personification of Catalonia |
| Justification | Justify the fight for independence | Topos of statistics, topos of democracy, topos of human rights, topos of economic welfare | Population statistics (Cardinal numbers and percentages), Lexemes indicating right to self determination |

Table 4.1. Artur Mas's strategies

4.1 Singularisation strategies

“El sentit de retrobar-nos amb els valors, principis i actituds que han convertit un país geogràficament i demogràficament petit com Catalunya en un gran país pel seu talent , la seva creativitat, el seu humanisme i la seva capacitat d'esdevenir un bon referent”²³

Making one's territory and people stand out is one the many identity construction strategies used by politicians. Given the fact that nations have historically been attached to a territory, praising that territory contributes to consolidating and fostering the existence of the nation. In addition to this, presenting the members of the group/nation as inherently better than members of surrounding nations also serves the purpose of creating the imagined community. When it comes to Catalan nationalist discourse, singularisation strategies are used by their author to present Catalonia as a unique territory gifted with all the good things that nature can offer. Catalonia's geographical position is highly praised, its institutions are placed amongst the best in the world and its people are constantly presented in the most positive way. In more

²³ The desire to rediscover the values, principles and attitudes that have turned a geographically and demographically small country like Catalonia into a great country known for its talent, creativity, humanism and its ability to be a set a good precedent (Mas 2011 *Cap d'any*).

linguistic terms, Artur Mas makes use of common place arguments such as the idyllic place topos, the “we are better compared to them” topos, as well as the comparison topos. These strategies are used in Mas’s discourse to build a sense of pride amongst the Catalan people, and also to set them apart from other nations and countries in Europe and in the world at large.

Artur Mas’s praise of Catalonia is based on ideas such as Catalonia’s thousand-year-old democratic tradition, ideal geographical position and economic attractiveness, as well as the good reputation of its institutions and people around the world. In all the speeches we studied, and in Artur Mas’s discourse in general, Catalonia is presented as a kind of paradise on Earth, the ultimate place to live, a territory with so many riches and so much to offer to Europe and the world at large. This is exactly what Wodak (1999) calls topos of the idyllic place or locus amoenus. She defines it in the following terms:

...a “beautiful landscape” often mentioned in a more general sense to refer to the common national territory or serving to depict a rather abstract ideal political place where human beings live together happily, in affluence, in harmony and without conflicts [...] Where it occurs in the political speeches, it frequently not only serves the purpose of mere self-presentation, but is part of a comparative scheme by means of which a strategy of inter-national difference is realised (1999: 97).

As Wodak suggests in the above quote, this topos is closely related to the topoi of comparison and positive difference. In fact, by presenting Catalonia as an idyllic territory, Artur Mas, implies that other territories (Spain?) are not as blessed as Catalonia is. These schemes are illustrated by superlatives, positively connotated lexemes and other lexemes indicating singularity. In addition to these, Artur Mas often resorts to statistics or refers to authorities to support the singularity of Catalonia. It is worth noting the recurrence of implicit or explicit comparisons aimed at creating a gap primarily between Catalonia and Spain, but also between Catalonia and other European and world nations at large. All the strategies which will be described subsequently are summarised in Table 4.2.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|---|--|---|--|
| Catalonia's thousand year old tradition | Nomination and predication, history as a teacher topos, topos of comparison | Superlatives, time references and comparisons, words expressing singularity and uniqueness | més velles, únic territori, llarguíssima trajectòria, Parlaments més antics, història mil·lenària, molt antiga, les més avançades |
| Catalonia's ideal geographical position and attractiveness | Topos of comparison (we are better compared to them), Topos of idyllic place | Quoting authoritative documents, using statistics, words denoting comparison, intertextuality | capitalitat mediterrània, estudi Ernst Young, tercer lloc, després de Londres i París, cap altra regió va superar aquestes xifres, |
| Catalonia's healthcare and education are amongst the world's best | Topos of comparison (we are better compared to them), Topos of idyllic place intertextuality | Quoting authoritative documents, using statistics, superlatives and other words denoting comparison | Organització Mundial de la Salut, informes, un dels millors sistemes sanitaris, la millor universitat estatal , el rànquing |
| Catalonia's outstanding population | Topos of comparison, intertextuality, | Lexemes expressing positive attributes, quoting authorities, using statistics, superlatives and other words denoting comparison | convivencial, cívica, culta, respectuosa, tolerant i integradora, exposició més visitada, exposicions més populars, un dels grans referents de lideratge mundial |

Table 4.2. Singularisation strategies

4.1.1 Catalonia's thousand-year old democratic tradition

Here Artur Mas develops his agenda of presenting Catalonia as an ancient nation, a nation which existed far before many of today's recognised nations. To him, the Democratic institutions of Catalonia foreran the establishment of democracy in Europe and in the whole world. This argumentation scheme, which is built on topoi such as history as a teacher,

comparison, and which is achieved (as all singularisation strategies) by the use of superlatives, time references or comparisons, and other words expressing singularity and uniqueness, aims at building a sense of pride amongst Catalans while also telling the world that Catalan nationalism has clear historical foundations.

[1] (2012 intervenció en el marc del sopar) Els dono la benvinguda a Barcelona com a President d'una de les **més velles**²⁴ nacions d'Europa. En efecte, Catalunya era ja al segle IX, **fa mil dos-cents anys**, l'**únic territori** de la Península Ibèrica que pertanyia a l'Imperi de Carlemany, amb capital a Aquisgrà.

"I welcome you to Barcelona as the President of one of Europe's oldest nations. In effect, Catalonia was, two thousand years ago, the only territory of the Iberian Peninsula which was part of Charlemagne's Empire, whose capital was Aachen"

[2] (Mas, 2014 Diada Nacional de Catalunya) Les corts catalanes creades **al segle XIII** i hereves de les assemblees de Pau i Treva són considerades el naixement del **primer parlamentarisme** a Europa. El nostre sentit de la democràcia ve de **molt lluny**.

"The Corts Catalanes (Catalan Courts), founded in the 13th century and successors of the assemblies de Pau i Treva (Assemblies of Peace and Truce) are considered to have marked the birth of Europe's parliamentary politics. Our sense of democracy comes from far back in time."

[3] (2014 Diada Nacional de Catalunya) La nostra ambició de qualitat democràtica ha d'estar a l'altura de la **llarguíssima trajectòria** de conviccions democràtiques del nostre país. Haver tingut un dels **Parlaments més antics** d'Europa hauria de ser un potent estímul per aspirar a tenir una de les millors democràcies d'Europa. I encara som lluny d'aquest noble i necessari objectiu.

"Our democratic ambitions have to match our country's very long democratic tradition. Having one of Europe's oldest parliaments should be a powerful stimulus to aspire to becoming one of Europe's best democracies. We are still far from this noble and necessary objective."

[4] (2015, Declaració Institucional del president) Som un país amb una **història mil·lenària**, fruit de treball de dones i homes que generació rere generació han construït Catalunya i l'han estimada [...] Som una **nació mil·lenària** que té dret a decidir el seu futur.

"We are a nation with a thousand-year-old history, the result of the work of women and men who from generation to generation have built and loved Catalonia [...] We are a thousand-year-old nation which has the right to determine its future."

[5] (2014, Crida de Sant Jordi del President Mas) La festa de Sant Jordi, per cert, és **molt antiga**, com ho són les nostres institucions [...] Així ho havien establert les Corts catalanes, per cert **un dels parlaments més antics** del món.

²⁴ My highlights

“The celebration of Saint George’s Day is, by the way, as old as our institutions [...] this was established by the Catalan Courts, incidentally one of the world’s oldest parliaments.”

[6] (2014 Diada Nacional de Catalunya) ...ho fou per defensar unes lleis de **les més avançades** del moment i que es contraposaven al poder absolut exercit de manera absoluta.

“It was to defend the most advanced laws at the time, as opposed to absolute rule which is exercised in an authoritarian manner”

The above examples clearly illustrate the extent to which Mas highlights his territory’s ancient history. As we can see, he uses words like “mil·lenària” (a thousand-year old), “antic” (ancient) or “antiga” (old) in order to describe Catalonia’s democracy. In addition, he makes use of intensifiers such as “molt” (very) and comparatives like “més” (more) in order to make Catalonia’s democratic tradition stand out. Furthermore, Artur Mas also idealises Catalonia’s geographical position, as discussed under the following heading.

4.1.2 Catalonia’s ideal geographical position and attractiveness

Here, Artur Mas presents Catalonia as highly attractive country, given its geographical position and its political achievements. Mas dwells more on economic achievements, quoting authorities and statistics to evidence his claims that Catalonia has successfully been resisting the global economic crisis and could even do better if it were not highly contributing to stabilising the Spanish economy as a whole. The examples below tell us more about the linguistic resources Mas resorts to.

[7] (2011 discurs d’investitura) [Tenim] Una posició geogràfica que ens permet exercir la **capitalitat mediterrània**.

“We have a geographical position that permits us to be the capital of the Mediterranean.”

[8] (2012 foro nueva economia) Catalunya és també la **primera potència turística** d’Espanya [...] I pel que fa a la captació inversió estrangera, no fa gaire va **publicar un estudi Ernst Young** que resolia Catalunya era en **tercer lloc** fent un anàlisi de llocs Europa on el 2011 s’havia fet més projectes inversió directa, **després de Londres i París**, i Madrid era el quart.

“Catalonia is the first tourist powerhouse in Spain [...] and as concerns foreign investment, Ernst Young recently published a study which placed Catalonia third amongst the places in Europe which had attracted more direct investment projects in 2011. It came after London and Paris, and before Madrid, which was placed fourth.”

[9] (2013 debat de política general..., P11) Malgrat la crisi, Catalunya continua essent atractiva per a la captació d'inversió estrangera. Segons la **base de dades del Financial Times Group**, l'any 2012 vam atreure projectes d'inversió internacional per un import **de 2.247 milions d'euros**, projectes que duen 8.323 llocs de treball associats. Dins de l'Europa continental al marge del Regne Unit **cap altra regió va superar aquestes xifres**.

“Despite the crisis, Catalonia remains attractive to foreign investment. According to the Financial Times Group’s data base, in the year 2012 we attracted international investment projects worth € 2.247 millions, which led to the creation of 8.323 job positions. In mainland Europe, i.e. excluding the UK, no other region exceeded those figures”.

[10] (2013, Debat de Política General) Tenim el nombre més elevat de parlants que ha tingut mai el català, una **capacitat d'atracció** que genera nous parlants que no la tenen com a llengua habitual, i una presència creixent a Internet.

“We have achieved the highest number of Catalan speakers ever, and Catalan has an attractiveness which generates new speakers who have no frequent contact with language, as well as a growing presence on the Internet.”

In the above examples, we can see that, Artur Mas really cherishes the use of the topoi of comparison. As a matter of fact, as he did when idealising Catalonia’s democratic tradition, Artur Mas makes use comparative structures in order to present his territory’s geographical position as idyllic. In example 8 above, he mentions he uses ordinal numbers to indicate that Catalonia is Spain’s touristic powerhouse and Europe’s third most attractive region for investment. In short Catalonia is a place to be, not only because of its geographical position but also thanks to its very efficient social institutions, as discussed below.

4.1.3 Catalonia’s social institutions (education and healthcare) are amongst the world’s best

After having praised Catalonia’s ancient democracy as well as its economic attractiveness, Mas goes further to praise his territory’s social institutions. He mostly focuses on education and healthcare. Here, he mainly makes reference to authoritative texts, reports and statistics in order to support his claims.

[11] (2013, Debat de Política General) ...per exemple, que l’**Organització Mundial de la Salut** destaca en un dels seus **informes** les mesures preses a Catalunya per assegurar la **sostenibilitat del nostre sistema de salut**, com a exemple de mesures eficients en gestió sanitària a Europa. De fet, en aquest informe, **tots els exemples que se citen referents a l'Estat espanyol són referències a Catalunya**.

“For instance, the World Health Organization highlights in one of its reports the measures taken by Catalonia to ensure the sustainability of our healthcare system as an example of efficient healthcare management measures in Europe. In fact, in the report, all the examples referring to the Spanish state are from Catalonia.”

[12] (2011, Discurs d’Investitura) Catalunya ha sabut construir **un dels millors sistemes sanitaris** d’Europa i, per tant, del món.

“Catalonia has managed to build one of the best healthcare systems of Europe, and, as such, of the world.”

[13] (2013, Debat de Política General) La UAB es considerada **la millor universitat estatal** segons **el rànding “The times Higher Education 100 under 50”**, que classifica les millors universitats del món amb menys de 50 anys d’història.

“UAB (Autonomous University of Barcelona) is considered the best state university according to the “Times Higher Education 100 under 50” ranking, which ranks the world’s best universities of less than 50 years of existence.”

[14] (2013, Debat de Política General) La UB **lidera** també les universitats espanyoles en **dos dels més prestigiosos ràndings internacionals**, el de Leiden i el de l’URAP (University Ranking by Academic Performance)

“UB (the University of Barcelona) also tops Spanish universities in two of the most prestigious international rankings, namely that of Leiden and URAP (University Ranking by Academic Performance).”

To evidence his positive claims about Catalonia’s healthcare and educational systems, Artur Mas resorts to data from authoritative organs such as the World Health Organisation or The Times. Once again, the topos of comparison, characterised by comparatives and superlatives (“més”- most or “millor”- best) are used to achieve the objective of placing Catalonia amongst the world’s best places.

4.1.4 Catalonia has an outstanding, peaceful and democratic population

In addition to praising Catalonia’s geographical position, century-old institutions, and stressing the territory’s economic attractiveness, Artur Mas also presents the Catalan people as outstanding, or at least better than those of neighbouring nations, and other world nations in general. Topoi such as statistics and comparison, as well as reference to authorities are used to place Catalans above other Spanish citizens at large. Such comparison takes place within several fields. As concerns democratic tradition, the Catalans are presented as the ones always upholding the rule of Law, as opposed to the Spaniards who are more interested in

oppression. Catalonia's success in arts and science is also presented in the light of some of its famous personalities in those fields. All the above is presented in the examples below.

[15] (2014 Diada Nacional de Catalunya) ...us convindo a totes i a tots a projectar la millor realitat del nostre país: la Catalunya **convivencial, cívica, culta, respectuosa, tolerant i integradora**; i la Catalunya **compromesa** amb la justícia social, **fidel** a la seva tradició dinàmica, **emprenedora i creativa**, i **amant de la llibertat i de les llibertats**.

"I call on you all to project the best image of our country: the consensual, civic, educated, polite, tolerant and inclusive Catalonia, and a Catalonia which is committed to social justice, true to its dynamic tradition, enterprising, creative and freedom-loving.

[16] (2014, Crida de Sant Jordi del President Mas) Tenim, doncs, **passió per la cultura**, i ens agrada compartir.

"We have, then, a passion for culture, and we like to share.."

[17] (2013 debat de política general..., P12) Perquè Catalunya s'ha guanyat una determinada imatge al món [...] L'expectació que generen els nostres artistes allà on s'exposen.

Dalí: 2a **exposició més visitada** en la història del Pompidou.

Miró: 6a exposició (sobre 57) **més visitada** des de l'obertura de la Tate Modern, l'any 2000 i una de les **exposicions més populars** dels darrers anys a la National Gallery of Art de Washington.

"Because Catalonia has earned a certain reputation in the world [...] the excitement that generate our artists wherever their works are exhibited.

Dalí: 2nd most visited exhibition ever at the Pompidou

Miró: 6th most visited exhibition (out of 57) since the opening of the Tate Modern in the year 2000 and one of the most popular exhibitions in recent years at the Washington National Gallery of Art"

[18] (Mas, 2014 Diada Nacional de Catalunya) la nació catalana és **viva**; tenim país; i ens preparem **democràticament, cívicament i pacíficament** per decidir el nostre futur col·lectiu.

"The Catalan Nation is alive, we have a country; and we prepare ourselves democratically, respectfully and peacefully to decide on our common future."

[19] (Mas, Cap d'any 2011) Aquesta **bondat inherent del poble català** es un imens motiu d'esperança.

"This inherent goodness of the Catalan people is a great reason for hope."

[20] (Mas, 2013, Debat de Política General) Les participacions catalanes a les Biennal d'Art i d'Arquitectura de Venècia, que van situar els nostres pavellons entre **els més recomanats**.

"Participations in editions of the Venice Art and Architecture Biennale, which placed our pavilions amongst the most recommended ones."

[21] (2013, Debat de Política General) La cuina catalana, i els seus cuiners, segueixen essent **un dels grans referents de lideratge mundial**.

“Catalan cuisine, as well as its chefs, continues to be one of the benchmarks of global leadership.”

[22] (2013, Debat de Política General) En diferents disciplines, els deportistes catalans, fruit del treball de clubs, federacions i centres de tecnificació, **excel·leixen a nivell internacional**.

“In different disciplines, Catalan athletes, fruit of the work of clubs, federations and training centres, excel at the international level.”

[23] (2011, discurs d'investitura) Catalunya pot aspirar a ser un dels **països de referència en matèria educativa**. Tenim un bon punt de partida: **una tradició docent de bon nivell i uns professionals amb una gran potencialitat**.

“Catalonia can aspire to become a country of reference in education. We have a good starting point: a good teaching tradition and professionals with great potential.”

[24] (2013, Debat de Política General) Tenim un **bon model de recerca científica**, com ho demostra la capacitat dels investigadors catalans per captar fons europeus i mundials, la presència de centres de recerca catalans en rànquings internacionals i el volum de publicacions científiques amb aportacions catalanes

“We have a good scientific research model, as demonstrated by Catalan researchers' ability to attract European and other international funding, the presence of Catalan research centres in international rankings and the amount of scientific publications with Catalan contributors.

[25] (2013, Debat de Política General) Catalunya se situa com a **tercer país de la Unió Europea** en nombre de concessions per milló d'habitants en la prestigiosa **convocatòria del Consell Europeu de Recerca**, i rep en aquest àmbit el **60%** de ajuts concedits en matèria de recerca a nivell de tot l'Estat.

“Catalonia is the third country of the European Union in terms of the number of grants per million of inhabitants awarded within the prestigious European Research Council scheme. It receives in this area 60% of all grants awarded to the Spanish State.”

[26] (2013, Debat de Política General) Mentre representem un **15% de la població europea**, els nostres investigadors publiquen **3% dels articles científics** que es fan a Europa, i la seva captació de projectes competitius en peu d'igualtat amb la resta del continent **és un 50% superior** a la que ens correspondria per població.

“While we represent 15% of the European population, our researchers author 3% of scientific articles published in Europe, and they attract as many competitive projects as the rest of the continent, which represent 50% more projects than what would correspond to us given our population.”

[27] (2013, Cap d'any) També volem, però, que es respectin i no es limitin o retallin les nostres capacitats com a país: la nostra **creació de riquesa**, el nostre **esforç col·lectiu**, la nostra **creativitat**, el nostre **talent**.

“We also want our capacity as a country: our wealth creation, our collective efforts, our creativity and our talent to be respected and not reduced or limited”

The examples above are another illustration of Artur Mas’s determination to idealise Catalonia. In example 15 above, he uses positive adjectives to describe his people and territory. Catalonia is said to be “consensual, civic, educated, polite, tolerant and inclusive”. In example 18, he suggests that Catalans are democratic, respectful and peaceful people. Then he makes use of a battery of examples and comparisons in order to place Catalan scientists and artists just to name a few above their counterparts in Spain, Europe and around the world. This falls within what Critical Discourse Analysts have called positive self-presentation.

To end this part, we can say that as all nationalists, Artur Mas makes sure he presents the positive aspects of his territory (which he calls country) and places it above other territories or countries, especially Spain. From Artur Mas’s perspective, Catalonia is the best place one can ever think of by dint of its geographical position, its old democratic tradition, its economic performances, very solid educational and healthcare institutions, as well as its educated, peace-loving and highly-achieving population. Singularisation strategies are enforced in Mas’s speeches by positive adjectives and other lexemes, the use of comparison and reference to authorities. Excerpt 28 below which is from Mas’s Inaugural speech summarises Mas’s praise of Catalonia.

[28] Sento, per tant , la necessitat i el deure de subratllar que tenim **un país amb grans actius**, en el qual podem confiar plenament. Tenim un país que conserva un **alt grau de dinamisme i de capacitat d’iniciativa**, de ganes de fer coses. Una cohesió interna que altres països més rics del nostre entorn voldrien per a ells mateixos. Un país **creatiu i amb talent**. Una base econòmica **molt diversificada** i en bona part obert cap a l’exterior. Un teixit associatiu viu i ben present a tota la geografia catalana. Una cultura i una llengua que segueixen definint nostra **identitat mil·lenària**. Centres de formació, en les diferents etapes de l’ensenyament **d’alta qualitat i ben reconeguts**.

“I feel, therefore, the need and duty to stress that we have a country with great assets, which we can fully rely on. We have a country that retains a high degree of dynamism and capacity for initiative as well as a desire to do things. An internal cohesion that

other rich countries around us would want for themselves. A creative country with talent. A highly diversified economic base and largely open to the outside world. A dynamic social fabric very present throughout the Catalan territory. A culture and a language that still defines our thousand-year-old identity. Educational centers, at different stages of learning, of high quality and good reputation.”

By resorting to all these singularisation strategies, Artur Mas doesn’t only want to present his territory as singular and special, or better still idyllic. In fact, he also wants to make it clear that it is actually very different from Spain with which it has internationally has always been associated. In other words, the autonomisation strategies which will be discussed below go hand in glove with the above singularisation strategies, in the sense that their overall goal is setting Catalonia apart, and putting an end to the tendency of seeing it as a region of Spain.

4.2 Autonomisation strategies

“Donar a conèixer la realitat catalana arreu i procurant aprofitar el nostre potencial de capitalitat mediterrània per projectar-nos al món no com una regió perifèrica d’Espanya, sinó com una nació central del sud d’Europa, ròtula entre les riberes sud i nord de la mar Medi-terrània.”²⁵

As all nationalists, Artur Mas is well aware of the fact that his territory will not be fully recognised nationally and internationally if he doesn’t present it as a totally separate entity. So one of the major characteristics of his identity-building speeches is the rejection of Spanish assimilation and a presentation of Catalonia as a territory, a country, a nation in its own right. To achieve this aim, he mostly resorts to nomination and predication strategies, especially the use of toponyms demonyms and toponymic references to set his country and people apart. These are further detailed in Table 4.4.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Catalonia is a fully fledged country | Nomination (denomination and description) | Lexemes denoting territorial integrity, and verbs and pronouns for in- | Emphasis on the use of “país” to refer to Catalonia rather than “regió” (region) or |

²⁵ To make people around the world know about Catalonia and trying to use our strategic Mediterranean position to project Catalonia to the world, not as a peripheral region of Spain, but as an important southern European nation, link between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean.

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| | | group/ out-group separation | “comunitat autonoma” (Autonomous Community), nostre país, tenim país |
| Catalonia’s name and demonyms further evidence its separation | Nomination and predication. Parallelism between Catalonia and Spain. Intensification and mitigation (Foregrounding of Catalonia and backgrounding of Spain) | Toponyms and demonyms. Widespread use of “Catalunya”, “catalá” and “catalans” or “catalanes”, preference for “l’Estat” over “Espanya”. opposition of Catalonia and Spain | Visca catalunya, Entre Catalunya i Espanya, l’Estat, |

Table 4.4 autonomisation strategies

4.2.1 Catalonia is a fully-fledged country

As we all know, the use of denomination and description can always give an idea of the ideological stance of the person making use of them. The foregoing assertion is true of Artur Mas’s use of the Catalan word “país”, meaning “country” when referring to Catalonia, as clearly illustrated in the following examples.

[29] (Cap d’any 2011) També us deia, però, que no hem de tenir por, perquè **vivim en un país, som d’un país**, Catalunya, que té, moltes i molt bones possibilitats d’anar bé.

“I also told you that we should nevertheless not be afraid because we live in a country, we are from a country, Catalonia, that has very many good possibilities of doing well.”

[30] (Diada nacional de Catalunya, 2014) Commemorar és, doncs, recordar que **som un país** que vol fer bé les coses, que vol fer-les debatent,...

“To commemorate is therefore to remember that we are a country that wants things to be well done, to be debated...”

[31] (Diada nacional de Catalunya, 2014) La nació catalana és viva: **tenim país**; i ens preparem democràticament, cívicament i pacíficament per decidir el nostre futur col·lectiu, el de set milions i de catalanes i de catalans.

“The Catalan nation is alive: we have a country and we are preparing democratically, civically and pacifically to decide on our collective future, that of seven and a half million Catalonians.”

[32] (intervenció després reunió amb Rajoy, 2012) Jo vaig assumir la presidència del **nostre país**, de Catalunya, i des del primer dia vaig fer el propòsit d’ explicar la veritat.

“I got to the presidency of our country, Catalonia, and from day one I committed myself to telling the truth.”

[33] (intervenció després reunió amb Rajoy, 2012) ...Una discussió serena i positiva, però també una discussió i un debat propi a l’altura de les circumstàncies que està vivint el **nostre país**, Catalunya.

... A serene and positive discussion, but also a serious discussion and debate about the very situation being faced by our country, Catalonia.

The use of país to refer to Catalonia is not a marginal one when considering the entirety of the speeches being discussed here. Actually, all but one speech contain the word, and it is repeated 197 times throughout our corpus. Here, it is very important to note the fact that, by using “país” instead of “comunidad autónoma” which is the official Spanish designation of Catalonia or even more neutral words such as “regió” or “territori” (meaning “region” and “territory”, respectively) Artur Mas wants to present Catalonia, not just as a region of Spain, but as a country in its full rights. As a matter of fact, the word “país” in the Spanish context is normally used either to refer to fully independent countries, such as Spain, France, England, Cameroon, or autonomous regions forming a distinct nation. In Spain this second use only applies to the Basque Country “el país Vasco”, whose independentist ideology has definitely been a great source of inspiration to Catalan nationalists. A surprising thing about Artur Mas’s use of “país” is its direct relation with the toponym “Catalunya” as well as toponymic adjectives like “Catalana”. In addition to this, we also realised that Artur Mas’s uses of “país” are often preceded by parts of speech which indicate spatial closeness and emotional attachment to Catalonia, therefore giving more strength to Mas’s main point, which is Catalonia’s right to independence, given the fact that it is a nation which can be clearly set

apart from Spain, by dint of its linguistic, economic, geographical and educational peculiarities.

Coming back to statistics, as mentioned before, we realised that the word “país” itself is used 197 times and appears in 14 of the 15 texts we studied. Its major collocates include the possessive pronouns “nostre” (“our”) and “meu” (“my”), which have 43 tokens (40 for “nostre” and 3 for “meu”), the article “del” (24 tokens) the demonstrative and space deictic “aquest”, meaning “this” and the article “el” (20 tokens each). In addition to the above cases, we also noticed the fact that the word “país” is very often preceded by “com a” (17 tokens), which means “as a”, and by first person plural verbs (“som”, “tenim”, “vivim”) as well (8 tokens). This is summarised in Chart 4.1.

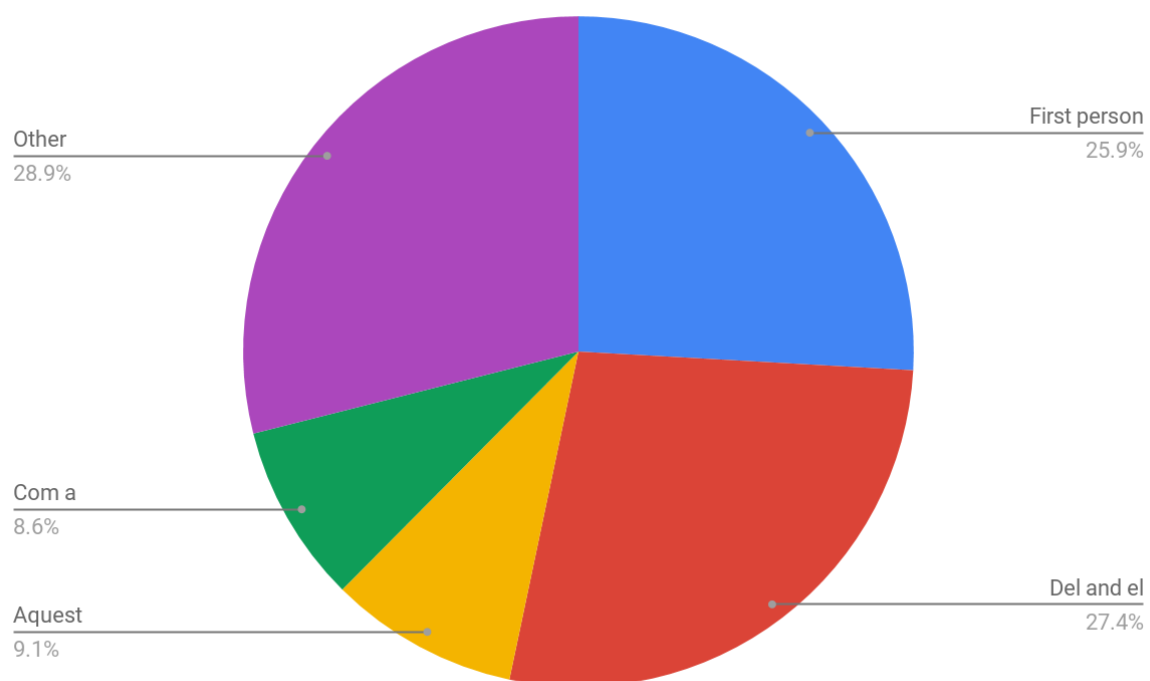


Chart 4.1 Collocates of “país”

The first person plural possessive pronouns and verbs totally exclude citizens of other regions of Spain, thus making the people of Catalonia autonomous and united for their country. As a matter of fact, Mas's use of words such as “nostre”, “tenim”, etc. aim at enforcing the idea that the Catalans are really a nation, a homogeneous group of people who share a territory, a culture and a tradition that are totally distinct from those of Spain. Moreover, by using the first person singular pronoun as well as the demonstrative “aquest”, Artur Mas wants to bring out the fact that he is speaking from within Catalonia and is part and parcel of the Catalan people. It is the same pragmatic effect the use of “del” and “el” have, as they indicate proximity by being definite. In other words, when Mas says “del país” he is talking about the country he and his people are part of, namely Catalonia. Artur Mas thus reinforces his position as the rightful leader of the Catalan independence movement, since he is fighting from within the territory. Finally, by often using “com a país” which is a subtle comparison, Artur Mas wants to debunk the idea that Catalonia is a mere region of Spain rather than a country by placing it amongst other countries around the world.

4.2.2 Catalonia's name and demonyms further evidence its separation

The very use of the toponym “Catalunya” as well as the adjectives deriving from it, namely “catalans” and “catalanes” can be discussed as another strategy used by Artur Mas in order to consolidate the idea that Catalonia is not just a part of Spain but a country, a nation in its own right. As matter of fact, as Anderson (1983) states, nations are often built on a specific territory and it is therefore important to clearly identify the said territory so as to clearly project it as the home of the nation one intends to build. Artur Mas hence does everything possible to name and emphasize his territory throughout his speeches, while making a conscious effort to avoid using the word “Espanya”. That is why the word “Catalunya” is used 342 times and appears in all the speeches we studied, as opposed to the word “Espanya” which only appears 71 times in 7 of the speeches being studied (see Chart 4.2).

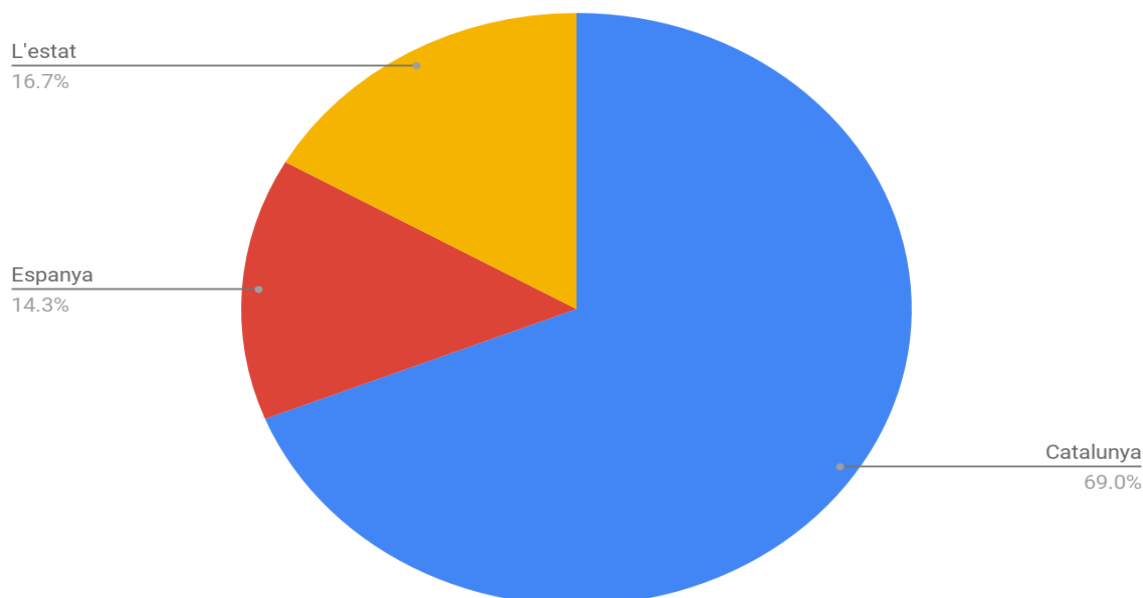


Chart 4.2. Uses of “Catalunya”, “Espanya” and “l'Estat”

A reading of Artur Mas’s speeches clearly demonstrates that *Catalunya* and *Espanya* are seen by the politician as two separate entities, two different nationalities and countries. This is clearly illustrated in examples 34 to 38 below.

[34] (2010 Discurs d’investitura) Tanmateix, **Espanya** també ha d’entendre que **Catalunya** i el *poble català* no defalliran, com no ho han fet al llarg de la història, en la defensa del seu autogovern i les seves llibertats

“However, Spain must also understand that Catalonia and the Catalan people will stand firm, as they have done throughout history, in defense of their autonomy and freedoms.”

[35] (2012, foro nueva economia) Crec que s’està produint **entre Catalunya i Espanya** un cert paral·lelisme entre el que està passant entre l’Europa nord i l’Europa del sud

“I believe that the situation we are witnessing between Catalonia and Spain can be likened to what is being witnessed between northern and southern Europe.”

[36] (2012, foro nueva economia) **Entre Catalunya i Espanya** s’ha produït un sentiment de fatiga, que penso que és mútua.

“There has been a feeling of weariness between Spain and Catalonia, and I think such a feeling is mutual.”

[37] (2012, foro nueva economia) Jo m’identifico amb el clamor popular perquè vista la història de **la relació Catalunya-Espanya** és lògic que s’estigui produint aquest clamor popular

“I identify with the people’s cry because given the history of Catalonia-Spain relations, it is logical to witness such a cry.”

[38] (2012, foro nueva economia) **Catalunya** s’ha cansat de no poder progressar bé com creu que pot fer-ho dins del conjunt de l’estat espanyol i **Espanya es cansa de la manera de fer de Catalunya**.

“Catalonia got weary of not making as much progress within the Spanish state as it hoped , and Spain has grown weary of Catalonia’s way of doing things.”

- **Visca Catalunya**

The analysis of Artur Mas’s speeches led to another important remark; the fact that the then president of the Catalan Generalitat ended eight (8) of his pieces of discourse with the formula “visca Catalunya” which means “long live Catalonia”. This formula is a message, not only to Catalans, but also to the Spanish people. In fact, every time he makes use of “visca catalunya”, Artur Mas wants to either create in Catalans a feeling of autonomy and independence, or make the Spanish government and people understand that nothing will impede the construction of the Catalan nation state, not even the laws that Spanish authorities would want to pass in order to hamper any actions taken by the autonomous governments of Catalonia. “Visca Catalonia”, which has the same effect as “God bless America” in the United States, just to name this example, thus aims to build a separate Catalonia and strengthen a sense of belonging amongst Catalans and indirectly defying the Spanish state, which upholds unity amongst all the social components of Spain. This is why this ending is used only in speeches where Mas addresses his people as a whole and not a selected group of individuals. This is illustrated in Table 4.3 found below:

| Speech | Main recipients | Visca Catalonia? |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Discurs d’investitura | People of Catalonia | Yes |
| Discurs del President de la Generalitat en l’acte de presa de possessió | Catalan and Spanish politicians | No |

| | | |
|---|--|-----|
| Mitssage institucional del president de la Generalitat amb motiu del Cap d'Any | People of Catalonia | Yes |
| Intervenció del president de la generalitat després de la reunió amb el president Mariano Rajoy | Spanish and Catalan press | No |
| Missatge institucional del president de la generalitat amb motiu de la Diada Nacional de Catalunya | People of Catalonia | Yes |
| Intervenció del president de la generalitat al foro nueva economía | Spanish and international stakeholders | No |
| Intervenció del president de la generalitat en el marc del sopar ofert amb motiu de la cimera del BCE | European stakeholders | No |
| Discurs del president de la generalitat en el debat de política general | Catalan politicians and stakeholders | no |
| Discurs del president mas en la celebració del centenari de la Mancomunitat | Catalan politicians and stakeholders | no |
| Missatge institucional del president de la generalitat amb motiu de la diada nacional de Catalunya | People of Catalonia | yes |
| Mitssage del president de la generalitat amb motiu del cap d'any | People of Catalonia | yes |
| Crida de Sant Jordi 2014 del president Mas | People of Catalonia | yes |

| | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Declaració institucional del president després de la signatura del decret de convocatòria de la consulta | People of Catalonia, Spain and Europe | yes |
| Conferència del president de la Generalitat a “Moment Zero” | Catalan politicians and stakeholders | no |
| Declaració institucional del president de Generalitat (després de signar el decret de convocatòria de les eleccions al Parlament de Catalunya) | People of Catalonia | yes |

Table 4.3 Use of “visca Catalunya” in Artur Mas’s speeches

Table 4.3 helps us understand one thing, the fact that only the title of a given speech can make us guess whether Mas will make use of the expression “visca Catalunya” or not. As a matter of fact, all speeches which are described as institutional messages/“mitssage institucional”, are aimed at extending end-of-year wishes to the people of Catalonia, or wishing them a happy National Day of Catalonia. If we add to this Category the speech given on Saint George’s Day (Sant Jordi, Catalonia’s Patron Saint), then it goes without saying that in 5 of the eight speeches which end in “Visca Catalunya”, Artur Mas acts as a fully fledged head of State. In the other three speeches where the expression is used, Artur Mas may not be exercising ceremonial duties, but his use of “Visca Catalonia” may be interpreted as an act of defiance against the Spanish State. As a matter of fact, Mas’s election was a huge blow to the Catalan branches of national parties such as *Partit Popular de Catalunya* or *Partit del socialistes de Catalunya*, affiliates of the Spanish *Partido Popular* (PP) and *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) respectively. Therefore, “visca Catalunya” also appears in Artur Mas’s inauguration speech as well as in two other speeches announcing very controversial polls, namely the 2014 self-determination referendum and the early 2015

parliamentary elections. In all these situations, the use of “visca Catalonia” illustrates Artur mas’s desire to defy the Spanish State. For a better understanding of this defiance, the contexts within which the two speeches were given will be presented below.

The first speech entitled *Declaració institucional del president després de la signatura del decret de convocatòria de la consulta (2014)* was given after Artur Mas decided to organise a self-determination referendum in Catalonia after a protracted legal battle against the Spanish authorities who considered such an undertaking to be illegal and unconstitutional. In fact, from the time Spain and Catalonia failed to reach a fiscal agreement, Artur Mas’s goal shifted to fighting for the total independence of his territory. Therefore, the referendum was a way of telling the world that he was simply voicing the people’s opinion. Despite facing a lot of pressure and even threats, Artur Mas didn’t give up and went on with the referendum. He then gave the above speech right after having signed the decree convening the said referendum, thus defying all those who had been against him.

After failing to achieve the independence of Catalonia through the 2014 referendum (whose results were void of legal backing and therefore considered to be merely symbolic), Artur mas brought up another way of pushing for the independence of Catalonia. Thus the calling for anticipated Parliamentary elections as evidenced in *Declaració institucional del president de Generalitat (després de signar el decret de convocatòria de les eleccions al Parlament de Catalunya)*. The victory of *Junts pel si* (Together for Yes) a coalition of most parties aiming at the independence of Catalonia would perhaps evidence the fact that the people of Catalonia are in favour of independence and therefore give a more constitutional and democratic foundation to any attempt to declare the independence of the territory. Artur Mas was heavily criticised by the Spanish press and politicians for anticipating these elections which were to take place about a year later. Nevertheless, even this time, he remain true to himself and called the elections and gave this speech, thus bidding defiance to all his opponents.

- “Espanya” or “l’Estat espanyol”

Although Artur Mas makes use of the word “Espanya”, he always makes sure that context clearly opposes it to Catalonia. Nevertheless, Mas is very much aware of the fact that using “Espanya” may create confusion, so whenever he can, he actually trades that word for “l’Estat (espanyol)”. As a matter of fact, “Espanya” and “l’Estat” have very distinct pragmatic effects. Carelessly using the word “Espanya” may give one the feeling that Mas is backing official narratives, which present Spain as a united country, a nation which includes Catalonia, and would thus dampen all efforts aimed at fighting for Catalan autonomy and independence. However, as a real Catalan nationalist, Mas rejects the idea of a Spanish nation, and thinks that the Spain we know today is a mere political construct which can be destroyed at any time. Therefore, Mas’s use of the phrase “l’Estat (espanyol)” is a way of saying that Spain will never be a nation, that it will remain a political entity, as opposed to Catalonia, which is a nation, and therefore deserves a state. This is why throughout the speeches we studied, the phrase “l’Estat espanyol” is used 23 times, and we have 83 tokens of uses of the noun phrase “l’Estat” to refer to Spain. Examples 39 to 47 clearly illustrate the foregoing.

[39] (Discurs d’investitura, 2010) S’ha constatat, tal i com van dir clarament alguns pares de la Constitució, que el pacte constitucional entre **Catalunya i l’Estat** tal i com el llegeix l’actual Tribunal Constitucional no dóna més de si.

“It has been found, as some fathers of the Constitution clearly indicated, that the constitutional agreement between Catalonia and the State as provided by the current Constitutional Court does not meet our aspirations.”

[40] (Cap d’any, 2011) Si la proposta de pacte fiscal és escoltada i atesa, els ponts entre **Catalunya i l’Estat** es reforçaran

“If the proposed fiscal agreement is considered and approved, the bridges between Catalonia and the State will be reinforced.”

[41] (foro nueva economía, 2012) ...entre les estructures de **L’estat**, que son tres: **Estat**, CCAA i món local.

“This between state structures, which are three: the State, Autonomous Communities and the grassroots.”

[42] (Debat de política general, 2013) Hi hem arribat perquè la sentència del TC aixeca un mur en la relació entre la majoria de la societat catalana i **l'Estat espanyol**, i constitueix l'evidència plàstica que el famós "encaix" de **Catalunya a l'Estat** no és possible en els termes que el catalanisme plural, divers i transversal l'ha buscat històricament i fins a èpoques ben recents.

"We've come to the conclusion that the Constitutional Court's judgment raises a wall in the relationship between most Catalans and the Spanish State, and is clear evidence that the famous "embedding" of Catalonia within the State is not possible in the terms that numerous, diverse and cross-sector Catalan nationalists have always sought."

[43] (Debat de política general, 2013) Està fatigat d'una relació amb **l'Estat** a la qual no li veu futur, en les condicions actuals. A risc d'equivocar-me, els trasllado la meua percepció: Catalunya sent afecte real per Espanya, se l'estima; però ja no confia en **l'Estat espanyol**.

"(Catalonia) Is tired of a relationship with the State in which she sees no future under current conditions. At the risk of being wrong, let me give you my perspective of things: Catalonia feels a real affection and esteem for Spain, but no longer trusts the Spanish State."

[44] (centenari mancomunitari, 2014) I l'esperit de construcció i de modernització que en aquell moment va tenir Catalunya va acabar també d'alguna manera ajudant a canviar coses en el conjunt de **l'estat espanyol**.

"And the spirit of construction and modernization Catalonia had at that time also somehow contributed to changing things in the entire Spanish State"

[45] (centenari mancomunitari, 2014) I tot això vull recordar que si seguim el fil històric d'aquests darrers 100 anys s'ha fet amb voluntat d'entesa i de pacte amb **l'Estat espanyol**.

"And with all this I would like to remind you that if we follow the historical thread of these last 100 years, much has been done in order to understand and to agree with the Spanish State..."

[46] (Cap d'any, 2014) La unitat és el que més tem **l'Estat**. **L'Estat** ens vol dividits, cadascú pel seu compte. Sap que així som més dèbils i més vulnerables.

"Unity is what the State fears the most. The State wants us divided, each one on its own. We also know that this way we will be the weaker and more vulnerable."

[47] (Cap d'any, 2014) Malgrat la prohibició i tota la maquinària institucional de **l'Estat** en contra, molts milers de catalans van fer un exercici d'autoafirmació, de respecte, de democràcia i de lliure opinió en llibertat.

"Despite the ban, and all the institutional machinery of the State against them, thousands of Catalans freely exercised self-affirmation, respect, democracy and free opinion."

Another important autonomisation strategy which Artur Mas resorts to is the use of toponymic adjectives. These adjectives function as nomination strategies and aim at clearly

identifying in-group and out-group members, as well as the recipients of the speeches he writes. Therefore, Mas uses the words “català” or “catalans” (Catalonian(s), masculine) and “catalana” or “catalanes” (Catalonian(s), feminine), which appear 173 times in all the speeches. These categories are totally distinct from those embedded in the words “espanyol” or “espanyols” and “espanyola” or “espanyoles”. Going back to statistics, the toponymic adjectives “espanyol”, “espanyola”, “espanyols” and “espanyoles” which can also function as nouns are used 47 times throughout the speeches. Out of the 47 uses, only 3 of them clearly include Catalonia in their meaning. The other 44 uses totally set Catalonia apart and have only two major antecedents, namely Estat (State, 23 tokens) and govern(s) (government(s), 11 tokens). Other antecedents include president (2 tokens) dirigent polític (1 token), poble (1 token), mercat (1 token), ciutadans (1 token), interés (1 token), constitució (1 token), normativa (1 token). The foregoing is illustrated in the examples below:

[48] (moment zero, 2015) Hi havia el concepte d’una evolució dintre de **l’Estat espanyol** a la primera part de la pregunta, i una part molt clara que apostava per si Catalunya havia de convertir un possible Estat català en un estat independent.

“There was the idea of an evolution within the Spanish State in the first part of the question, and a very clear part that bet on the possibility of Catalonia becoming a State, an independent country.”

[49] (debat de política general, 2013) La primera respon a la batalla que el nostre Govern va decidir emprendre per aconseguir un repartiment just i equitatiu del dèficit públic autoritzat a **l’Estat espanyol**.

“The first corresponds to the battle that our Government decided to wage in order to achieve a fair and equitable sharing of the deficit authorized by the Spanish State.”

[50] (reunió amb rajoy, 2012) I tot això vull recordar que si seguim el fil històric d’aquests darrers 100 anys s’ha fet amb voluntat d’entesa i de pacte amb **l’Estat espanyol**.

“And with all this i want to remind you that if we follow the historical thread of the last 100 years, much has been done with the aim of achieving understanding and agreement with the Spanish State.”

[51] (debat de política general, 2013) De manera incomprensible, el **Govern espanyol** va recórrer la declaració de sobirania davant el Tribunal Constitucional, que en va declarar la suspensió.

“Incomprehensibly, the Spanish government appealed the declaration of sovereignty before the Constitutional Court, which declared the suspension.”

[52] (Motiu de la cimera BCE, 2012) De fet, des del Govern de Catalunya donem suport a gairebé totes les decisions que prenen els **governns espanyols**, encara que siguin impopulars.

“In fact, the Government of Catalonia support almost all decisions taken by the Spanish Government, even if they are unpopular.”

[53] (debat de política general, 2013) Una llei que empitjorant amb la gestió que els successius **governns espanyols**, primer del PSOE i després del PP, han fet del seu contingut.

“A law that got worse with the way successive Spanish governments, first that of PSOE and then that of PP, have managed its contents.”

Therefore, the above statistics and examples can be seen as some more evidence of the fact that Mas does not even consider Spain as it is today to be a country. To him, it is more of a political entity than anything else. This is why “espanyol” is overwhelmingly used together with “Estat” and “govern”, “dirigent polític” (political leader), “constitució” (constitution), and with other abstract entities such as “mercat” (market) and “interés” (interest). It is used in reference to the people only twice, as opposed to the toponymic adjectives “catalá”, “catalans”, “catalanes”. The foregoing is better explained illustrated in Chart 4.2.

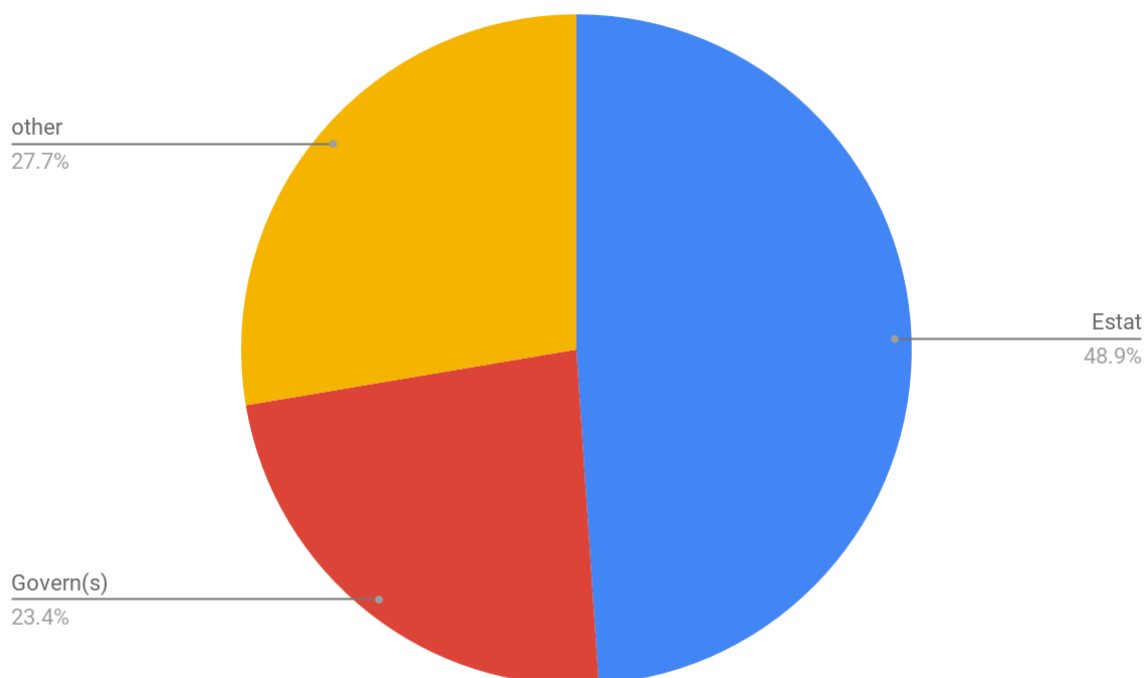


Chart 4.3 Major collocates of “espanyol”

Before going any further, it is worth noting that the only times Artur mas makes use of “espanyol” while including Catalonia, he has no choice because these are references to statistics. Let’s consider Excerpts 54 and 55 below.

[54] (motiu de la cimera BCE, 2012) amb el **16%** de la població espanyola representa el **19%** del PIB, el **30%** del comerç exterior espanyol, que concentra el 22% de les empreses innovadores d’Espanya i que representa **11%** de la producció científica mundial.

“with 16% of the Spanish population represents 19% of GDP, 30% of Spanish foreign trade, which accounts for 22% of innovative companies in Spain and represents 11% of scientific production worldwide.”

[55] (Debat de política general, 2013) La taxa d’abandonament escolar prematur ha anat baixant des del **33,2%** de l’any 2008 fins a situar-se per sota del **24%** l’any 2012. Estem per sota de la mitjana espanyola (24,9%) però lluny del **12,9%** d’abandonament escolar prematur de la Unió Europea.

“School dropout rate has gone down from 33.2% in 2008 to position itself below 24% in 2012. We are below the Spanish average (24.9%) but far behind European figures which stand at 12.9 %.”

The above examples clearly illustrate what we said earlier. Artur Mas refers to surveys which were carried out at the Spanish national level so has no choice but to place Catalonia within

Spain. Nevertheless, by so doing, he also achieves presenting his territory as better than Spain. An approach which fits well into singularisation strategies discussed previously.

Coming back to Artur Mas's use of "català", "catalana", "catalans" and "catalanes", we noticed that, as opposed to "espanyol" and its variants, they often refer to the people of Catalonia and not to a political organisation. Actually, these toponymic adjectives appear 173 times in the speeches, far more than "espanyol" and its variants. This is evidence of the fact that Mas spends more time talking about his territory and its people. We also noticed that when addressing his people, Mas often uses the phrases "catalans i catalanes", or "catalanes i catalans", which aim at identifying both the male and female members of the Catalan society and thus avoid using sexist language²⁶. This is an example of unification strategies which will be discussed subsequently.

Furthermore, "català" is used 39 times (43 if we have to add "catalan", which is used when Artur Mas addresses the people of Europe in English). Out of these 43 uses, we noticed that the word refers directly to "poble" (or people in the English text) 20 times, that is almost half of the different times it is used. This is very far from what we realised when studying "espanyol", whose use is almost related to words such as "Estat" or "govern", and this doesn't stop here. Even the feminine equivalent of "català", which is "catalana" also overwhelmingly refers to the people. As a matter of fact, 18 of the 43 tokens of the word are preceded by "societat" (society), which is clear reference to the people. Moreover, another 5 tokens are preceded by població (population, 2 tokens) and nació (nation, 3 tokens).

What's more, about three quarters of the 40 uses of "catalans" refer to the people of Catalonia and not to any institution or government as in the case of "espanyols". This is why in 23

²⁶ Adjectives in Catalan, as most romance languages, change their form depending on gender. So "català" only refers to male Catalans while "catalana" refers to females. The plural forms of these are "catalans" and "catalanes" respectively

token, “catalans” is preceded by “els” (the-plural), “de” (of) or a contracted form of both: “dels”, meaning “of the”. This use of determiners attests of the fact that the word is used as a noun and therefore refers back to the people of catalans. “Catalanes”, the feminine equivalent of “català” is the only word which does not overwhelmingly refer to the people of Catalonia, but rather to institutions. But this notwithstanding, it is, as we mentioned before, associated to “catalans” in order to identify not only the male, but also the female members of the catalan nation. This is the case in 17 of the 47 times the word “catalanes” is used.

- **Chilton’s perspective**

The data found above can as well be interpreted from Chilton’s Discourse Space model. As we mentioned in Chapter 2, Chilton’s approach draws from cognitive linguistics in order to graphically represent how space, that is closeness or distance, is represented in discourse. In fact a study of toponyms and demonyms related to Catalonia and Spain makes it clear that Artur Mas’s goal is to create a mental space between the territories he is talking about. Therefore, as we can see in Figure 4.1, words such as “Catalunya” and “Catalá” represent proximal space, that is, the territory or a group of people the author identifies with and feels part of, while “l’Estat” can be considered to represent distal space, because it represents the Spanish government and its policies are often aimed at destroying any Catalan attempt at achieving independence. Finally “Espanya” and “espanyol”, just to name them, definitely represent medial space, because though Mas rejects the idea that Catalonia is part of Spain he often presents Catalonia in relation to the whole of Spain when discussing statistics.

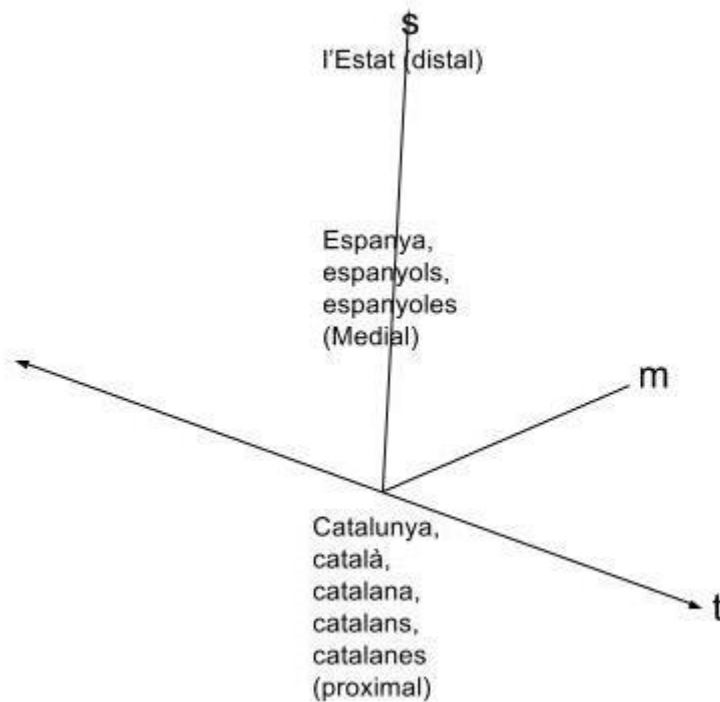


Figure 4.1 Toponyms, demonyms and mental space

To sum up, the statistical, syntactic and cognitive analysis of toponyms and demonyms deriving from the Catalan language versions of the toponyms “Spain” on the one hand and “Catalonia” on the other hand add up to other pieces of evidence which illustrate Artur Mas’s construction of the Catalan nation and rejection of Spain. First of all, these statistics, made us understand that Spain is not really the focus of Artur Mas, thus he doesn’t make a wide use of the words “Espanya”, “espanyol”, “espanyola”, “espanyols” and “espanyolas”. Moreover, when these words happen to be used, they tend to describe administrations, governments and the Spain as a political entity. This led us to the conclusion that for Mas, Spain is not really a nation, but a mere administrative body. In addition to this, the few times these words refer to people, they totally exclude the Catalans, who are presented as a fully separate and distinct nation. As a matter of fact, the words “català”, “catalana”, “catalans” and “catalanes” are more often used throughout the speeches. This emphasis on Catalonia is aimed at creating in

the audience an awareness of the fact that Catalonia is not Spain, but a different nation which happens to be found within the geographical boundaries of an artificial state called Spain. Finally, as opposed to toponymic adjectives deriving from “Espanya”, those taken from “Catalunya” overwhelmingly refer to the people, their traditions more than to a mere administrative construction. Mas’s construction of Catalan autonomy can just be seen as the use of a topos, that of the fact that nations deserve to be given a country.

4.3 Unification and cohesivation strategies

“El 9 de novembre ha estat també una mostra de que la unitat ens dóna força com a país. Sense la implicació de la societat civil, dels voluntaris, dels diferents partits polítics i del Govern no hi hauríem arribat. N’hauríem de prendre bona nota, la unitat suma, ens fa més forts i ens permet avançar de manera més sòlida. La unitat permet fer entendre millor el que volem, com a país i com a societat, i ens dóna moral de victòria.”²⁷

Artur Mas’s strategies are not limited to presenting Catalonia as an idyllic territory which should not be confused with Spain. In fact, the Catalan politician is well aware of the fact that within Catalonia there are dissenting voices, so he makes sure he calls on the people of Catalonia to support the independence struggle by making use of various strategies. First of all, Artur Mas does everything possible to highlight the features all Catalans have in common. These features can be cultural such as their language, the flag, traditional celebrations, but also economic and political. After having thus showed that the Catalans are a homogeneous people, he goes further to appeal for unity, often warning that not being united may lead Catalonia to straight to disaster. Artur Mas achieves all the above argumentation schemes by the use of various topoi such as the topoi of unity, comparison or the topos of threat which are enforced in discourse through by possessives, other deictics and deontic constructions. These are going to be discussed under the sections below.

²⁷ November 9 was also a show of unity that gives us strength as a country. Without the involvement of civil society, volunteers, various political parties and the government we wouldn’t have achieved that. We should take good note, unity not only makes us stronger but also allows us to move in a more solid manner. Unity allows you to better understand what we, as a country and as a society, want and gives us morale for victory.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Language flag and traditions | Language choice, topos of comparison, topos of threat | Possessive nostra, nostres | La nostra llengua, la nostra identitat, aniquilar |
| United we stand, divided we fall | Topos of unity (Emphasis on the word unitat), topos of comparison, topos of usefulness, topos of threat, topos of history as a teacher, nomination strategies | Repetition of “unitat” at the beginning of clauses (Anaphora), deontic modality (imperatives, lexemes denoting encouragement or obligation, historical references | Hem de, ens cal, us animo, ens pertoca, Prat de la Riba and Enric Macià |

Table 4.4 Unification and cohesivation strategies

4.3.1 Language, flag and traditions

In order to rally the people of Catalonia behind his struggle for independence, Artur Mas highlights certain things that make the people distinct from the rest of Spain. To begin with, Artur Mas makes sure he addresses his people in Catalan, which is the territory’s official language. Such a move is pregnant with political meaning and significance. As a matter of fact, Mas knows that the Catalan language is a very important cultural element which is shared and cherished by the people of Catalonia. By using the language he wants to create a sense of brotherhood amongst them. Using the language in his speeches is tantamount to saying that the Catalan people are united, they have this distinct communication code in common, and are therefore a nation. As the examples we shall study in details show, Artur Mas often uses the phrase “la nostra llengua” (our language), to refer to Catalan. This use is definitely a unificatory one.

Then it is worth noting that Artur Mas sees cohabitation with Spain as a threat to the linguistic unity of Catalonia. He actually believes that Spain has always tried to annihilate the

Catalan language. In other words, if the Catalans want their language to survive, they have to back him, because only independence can permanently guarantee the welfare of Catalan. This specific argument is seen in example 56 below.

[56] (diada nacional de Catalunya) I que fou precisament l'absolutisme homogeneïtzador, guanyador de la guerra, el que va voler aniquilar **la nostra identitat, la nostra llengua i els nostres usos i costums**.

“And that it was precisely the homogenizing absolutism, winner of the war, which wanted to annihilate our identity, our language and our customs.”

According to Mas, the Catalan language has always been a very important part of Catalan identity, and this is why Spanish governments have always tried to downgrade, assimilate and extinguish it. In addition to language, we realised that the Catalan flag as well as literary traditions have a very important place in Artur Mas's unification and cohesivation strategies, as evidenced in 57 below.

[57] (crida de sant Jordi, 2014) A tots vosaltres us animo a què no us quedeu a casa, a què abans de sortir, si voleu, pengeu la senyera al balcó, a què regaleu la rosa, a què compreu llibres, a què trenqueu una llança pels llibres en **la nostra llengua, pels nostres autors i autores, i per les nostres llibreries**.

“I encourage all of you to not stay at home, to hang if you can the “senyera” on the balcony before leaving home, to give a rose, to buy books, and to stand for books in our language, for our authors, and our bookshops..”

To conclude this part, we can say that by referring to language and cultural practices that are specific to Catalonia, Mas not only wants to convince its citizens that they are distinct from Spain, but also wants to tell them that, since they are not Spanish, they have to support independence. Apart from this subtle comparison between the Spanish and Catalan cultures, Artur Mas also makes use of threat in order to rally the people behind him. As a matter of fact, he suggests that neither their language, nor their culture will thrive if they keep cohabitating with Spain. He makes use of historical evidence to demonstrate that Spain has never stopped trying to destroy the Catalan language and culture. Since culture and speech are the things that make up identity, Artur Mas is trying to tell his fellow countrymen that if

Spain hates their language and culture, then it can't love them and that cohabitation with Spain is a threat to the Catalan's very existence as a people.

4.3.2 United we stand, divided we fall

Most of Artur Mas's speeches are characterised by a strong will to bring all Catalans together. Actually, Mas wants his people to be united, to express solidarity with one another and to get rid of any dissension that might exist between them. This is why words such as "unitat" (meaning unity) appear in the texts very often. To him, unity is the key to defeating the Spanish state and achieving independence. Let's consider the following example.

[58] (Cap d'any 2014) El 9 de novembre ha estat també una mostra de que **la unitat** ens dóna força com a país. Sense la implicació de la societat civil, dels voluntaris, dels diferents partits polítics i del Govern no hi hauríem arribat. N'hauríem de prendre bona nota, **la unitat** suma, ens fa més forts i ens permet avançar de manera més sòlida. **La unitat** permet fer entendre millor el que volem, com a país i com a societat, i ens dóna moral de victòria.

La unitat és el que més tem l'Estat. L'Estat ens vol dividits, cadascú pel seu compte. Sap que així som més dèbils i més vulnerables. N'hauríem de ser ben conscients, prendre'n bona nota i actuar en conseqüència.

"November 9 was also a show of unity that gives us strength as a country. Without the involvement of civil society, volunteers, various political parties and the government we wouldn't have achieved that. We should take good note, unity not only makes us stronger but also allows us to move more efficiently. Unity allows us to better understand what we, as a country and as a society, want and gives us morale for victory.

Unity what the Spanish State fears the most feared. The state wants us divided, each on its own. We also know that this way we are weaker and more vulnerable. We should be well aware of this, take note and act accordingly."

Example 58 clearly illustrates how Artur Mas goes about encouraging his people to be united. Actually, he makes use of a full fledged argumentation scheme to convince his people to be united. First of all, he mentions the benefits of unity. Unity can make them stronger and allow the independence struggle to gain more ground. This can be seen as a topos in itself, that is, the topos of unity which is very often used in identity-building discourse. Within the topos of unity lies another topos, which is that of usefulness, as mentioned in Wodak and Meyer's

Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (2001). This topos of usefulness, also called topos of advantage,

Can be paraphrased by means of the following conditional: if an action under a specific relevant point of view will be useful, then one should perform it [...] to this topos belong different subtypes, for example the topos of ‘pro bono publico’ (to the advantage of all), the topos of ‘pro bono nobis’ (to the advantage of us), and the topos of ‘pro bono eorum’ (to the advantage of them). (Wodak & Meyer 2001: 74)

So, according to Wodak and Meyer, this topos is always used when trying to justify the need to do something, to the advantage of a specific group of people. Coming back to Artur Mas’s speeches, unity is seen as a need an advantage, something that should be done for the benefit of all Catalans. Then Mas goes further to make use of deontic modality to emphasize the need for Catalans to unite. This use of deontic modality is seen, not only in the above example, but also in other speeches from which the examples below are taken.

[59] (declaració després decret de convocatòria de les eleccions al parlament, 2015) **Assumim** cadascun de nosaltres la responsabilitat i el protagonisme que el moment demana i **fem-nos-en** dignes.

“Let each one of us take the responsibility and stance that these times require and let’s be worthy of them.”

[60] (Crida de Sant Jordi, 2014) **Us animo** a tots els que pugueu busqueu una estona per compartir amb les persones que estimeu, que aneu a donar una volta per les parades de roses i de llibres, a les llibreries, que trobeu un moment per tenir un petit detall, una mica especial, quelcom que us surti simplement del cor.

“I encourage all those who can to find a time to spend with the people you love, to go for a walk through rose stalls and book stalls or bookshops; to find time for a little present, something special from our heart.”

[61] (Crida de Sant Jordi, 2014) **A tots vosaltres us animo** a què no us quedeu a casa, a què abans de sortir, si voleu, pengeu la senyera al balcó, a què regaleu la rosa, a què compreu llibres, a què trenqueu una llança pels llibres en la nostra llengua, pels nostres autors i autores, i per les nostres llibreries.

“I encourage all of you to not stay at home before leaving, to hang if you want the “senyera” on the balcony, to give a rose, to buy books, and to stand for books in our language, for our authors, and our bookshops.”

As the examples above indicate, Artur Mas makes use of imperative verbs such as “assumim” and “fem” as well as other deontic expressions such as “us animo” to lead his people to take

more action towards identity building. But these expressions are not Artur Mas's favourite deontic expressions.

- **“Hem de”, “ens Cal” and “ens (per)toca”: deontic calls for unity**

Deontic modality is a very important tool in all pieces of discourse aimed at leading and enjoining people to specific actions or behaviours. According to Downing and Locke, (1992: 382) and Piqué-Angordans et al (2002:50), deontic modality occurs when a given speaker lays obligations or grants permission in a given communicative event. Deontic modality can be achieved by modal verbs such as “should” or “must” or other syntactic constructions involving words like “necessary”, “important” etc. Our analysis of Artur Mas's speeches made us realise that the politician resorts to the use of “hem de”, “ens cal”, “ens pertoca” and “ens toca” in order to lay moral obligations to his fellow compatriots. While “hem de” can be directly translated as “we have to”, the essence of the meaning encoded in “ens cal”, “ens toca” and “ens pertoca” can be captured by phrases such as “we should”, “we need to”, “we have to” and “it is important for us/ it is up to us to”. As seen in Chart 4.4, “hem de” is the mostly used deontic expression in Artur Mas's speeches, followed by “ens cal” and “ens toca”.

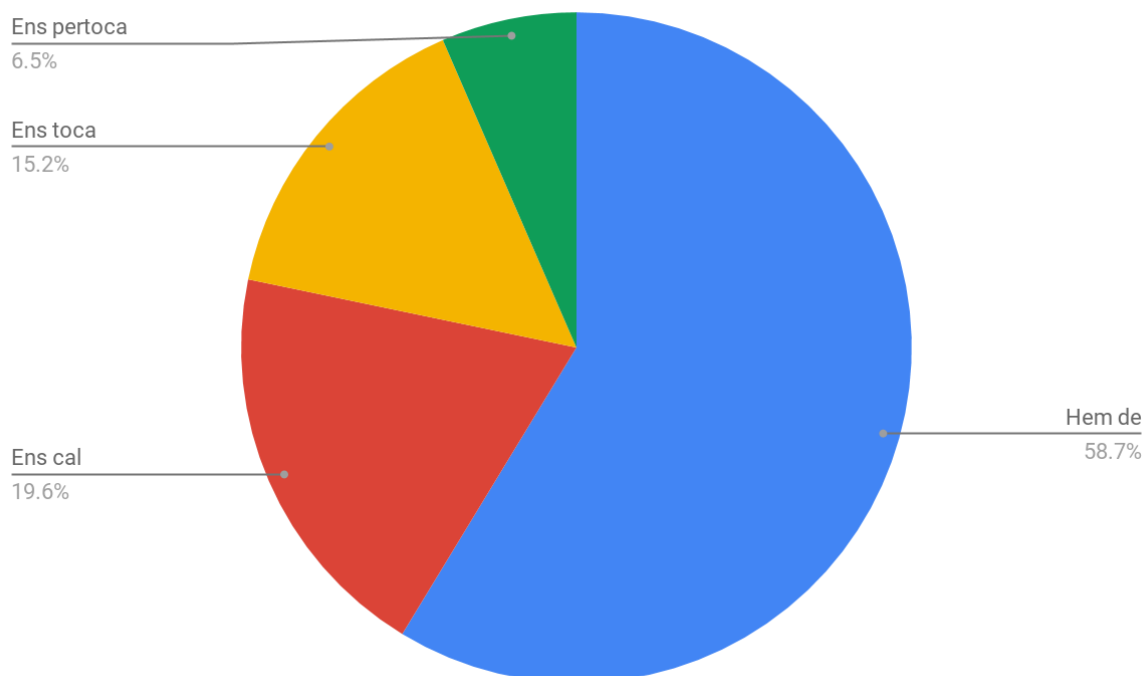


Chart 4.4 Deontic expressions in artur Mas's speeches

These expressions appear 46 times throughout the speeches (27 for “hem de” and 9 for “ens cal”, 7 for “ens toca” and 3 for “ens pertoca”). The examples below further illustrate the use of these phrases.

[62] (Foro nueva economia, 2012) La última pregunta que **ens hem de** fer és si al conjunt d'Espanya es pot arribar a acceptar -com és l'èstricta realitat- que Catalunya és una nació.

“The last question we have to ask is whether Spain as a whole can accept that Catalonia is a nation, which is pure reality.”

[63] (discurs d'investitura, 2010) Tanmateix, com més grans siguin les dificultats, més estímuls **hem de** trobar per vèncer-les.

“However, the greater the difficulties, the more stimuli we have to find to overcome them.”

[64] (Discurs d'investitura, 2010) Ens cal, per tant, forjar el nostre propi camí de futur, **ens cal** canviar i començar un nou camí.

“We must therefore forge our own path for the future, we need to change and start a new path.”

[65] (Debat de política general, 2013) En el nostre cas, aquest model de concertació i de coresponsabilitat el tenim ben forjat. Forma part de la nostra tradició, gairebé de la nostra identitat. Ara **ens cal** donar valor a aquest model, que altres, més ben situats que nosaltres, aspiren a construir perquè no el tenen o no el tenen tant com nosaltres.

“In our case, this model of coordination and mutual responsibility has been well shaped. It is part of our tradition, and almost part of our identity. Now we need to foster this model which others who are better placed than us aspire to because they don’t have it at all or not as much as we do.”

[66] (Discurs d’investitura, 2010) **A tots ens pertoca** sumar esforços per donar compliment a la pri-mera preocupació de la nostra societat.

“We should all join efforts in order to respond to our society’s main concern.”

[67] (Cap d’any, 2011) ...la justícia social no és una ideologia de dretes o d’esquerres sinó un imperatiu moral que **a tots ens pertoca** defensar...

“...social justice is not a left-wing or right-wing ideology, but a moral obligation that we should all defend...”

[68] (Presa de possessió, 2010) I ara **ens toca a tots plegats**, al Govern, al president al capdavant, però **a tots plegats** en definitiva, i no només a la gent que estem a les institucions i a la política, **ens toca** a tota la societat catalana, a tot el poble de Catalunya, posar el nostre país en marxa.

“And now it is up to all of us, the government, the President first, but all of us in the end, and not just people who are in charge of institutions and political life, it is up to the whole Catalan society, the entire people of Catalonia, to put our country on the move.”

The foregoing therefore demonstrate how important is deontic modality when trying to unite people and enjoin them to specific behaviours and actions. When using those enjoining phrases, Mas takes the position of a political leader, who has the authority to tell his people what to do. In classical rhetoric, this would be seen as deliberative discourse, which according to Aristotle, advises people about things to come. Nevertheless, Artur Mas also makes use of epideictic discourse in order to engage all Catalans. In other words, he often refers to historical figures and events so as to encourage his fellow countrymen to be more united and therefore wage an efficient war against the Spanish administration.

- **Reference to historical figures and events in a bid to foster unity**

We realised while analysing Artur Mas’s speeches that he often makes reference to historical events and people in order to build a sense of unity amongst his people. To begin with historical figures, he mentions not only their names but also their achievements, and struggles in a bid to encourage Catalans to do the same. These Historical figures include Berenguer de

Crüilles, Prat de la Riba, Francesc Macià, just to name a few. Let's consider the following examples:

[69] (Discurs D'investitura, 2010) Em sento hereu d'Enric Prat de la Riba (forjador de la primera Administració catalana, el 1714, per minsa que fos), de Francesc Macià (el president estimat, idealista, que va saber captar la realitat sense renunciar als ideals), de Lluís Companys (el president afusellat pel fet de ser president de Catalunya), de Josep Irla (el president de la resistència), de Josep Tarradellas (el president de la continuïtat, del retorn i de la recuperació de la Generalitat), de Jordi Pujol (el president constructor de la Catalunya moderna, promotor del respecte i del bon nom de Catalunya), de Pasqual Maragall (el president del nou Estatut) i de José Montilla (el president que exemplifica l'èxit del model català d'integració).

"I feel like an heir to Enric Prat de la Riba (mastermind of the first Catalan government, in 1714, no matter how meager it was), Francesc-Macia (the beloved idealistic President who was able to capture reality without sacrificing our ideals) to Lluís Companys (who was executed for being the President of Catalonia), Josep Irla (The President of resistance) to Josep Tarradellas (President of continuity, of the renaissance and recovery of the Generalitat) of Jordi Pujol (The President who built modern Catalonia, promoting the respect and reputation of Catalonia), Pasqual Maragall (President of the new Statute) and José Montilla (the President who epitomised the success of the Catalan model of integration)."

In Example 69 above, Artur Mas is delivering a speech on the occasion of his inauguration as President of the Catalan autonomous government. Before any further ado, he names some of the most important figures of Catalan nationalism throughout history, while indicating that he is their heir. In addition to be a very clear evidence of continuation strategies which shall be discussed in subsequent parts of this write-up, mentioning those personalities is a way of rallying all Catalans behind the nationalist cause and therefore an attempt at strengthening unity amongst them. Artur Mas's reference to these historical personalities is tantamount to telling the Catalan people that unity is a legacy from the past, which has to be cherished by all and that independence is also a project they inherited from their predecessors, Therefore, failing to add momentum to the independence struggle can only be interpreted as betraying those who put their lives in danger (or even lost it) for Catalonia to be what it is nowadays. Let's consider another example.

[70] (centenari mancomunitat, 2014) Podem imaginar si realment Prat de la Riba, Puig i Cadafalch i aquella gent haguessin tingut autèntics instruments d'estat què haurien sigut capaços de fer per Catalunya, si amb tan pocs varen fer tant? O posats al dia d'avui i d'aquests darrers 30 anys. Podem imaginar el que haurien estat capaços de fer les institucions catalanes si haguéssim disposat d'instruments d'estat? Si no haguéssim hagut d'estar durant 30 anys barallant-nos i queixant-nos i a vegades fins i tot pidolant perquè ens hem trobat sistemàticament amb una paret que limitava les aspiracions d'autogovern de Catalunya.

Considering what they did with so little means, can we imagine what Prat de la Riba, Puig i Cadafalch and others would have been able to do for Catalonia if they had had genuine State instruments? Or considering today and the past 30 years. Can we imagine what Catalan institutions would have achieved if we had State instruments? If for 30 years we had not been quarrelling and complaining and sometimes even begging because we consistently bumped into a wall that limited aspirations for Catalan self-determination..

In the above excerpt, Artur Mas compares the huge achievements historical figures of Catalan nationalism had with the standstill experienced during the 30 years preceding the time of speaking. The message that transcribes from the text is an encouragement to learn from these heroes, who scored huge victories when faced with greater opposition. He also stresses the fact that those past victories should be another reason to be emboldened to fight for the complete independence of Catalonia, instead of just complaining without taking action. This example thus exemplifies another topos which Artur Mas highly uses, namely the “History as a Teacher” topos. As a matter of fact, historical events and personalities become teachers, instructors, or guides to which all Catalans have to turn in order to be empowered in their struggle. Let’s consider another illustration of Mas’s resort to historical figures and events.

[71] (Foro nueva economia, 2012) Cal tenir una mica de coneixement de la història de Catalunya del segle XX, però m’agradaria ser una combinació d’**Enric Prat de la Riba** - que no va ser president - i de **Francesc Macià**. Prat de la Riba va ser un constructor de Catalunya amb pocs instruments, però amb molta qualitat, que va fer una obra ingent que encara perdura 100 anys després. Francesc Macià, l’home de les idees però sobretot dels ideals.

“It is important to have some knowledge of twentieth-century Catalan history, but I would like it to be a combination of Enric Prat de la Riba - who was never the president - and Francesc Macia. Prat de la Riba was a builder of Catalonia with few instruments, but a lot of quality, who did an enormous work that can still be seen 100 years later. Francesc Macia was a man of ideas, but above all ideals. “

Example 71 above is another illustration of Artur Mas's effort to bring together all political ideologies under the banner of the independence struggle. Actually, the Catalan nationalist leader brings together two figures who, despite their distinct political inclinations, had in common the fact that they highly valued the independence of their territory. These are Prat de la Riba and Francesc Macià. Prat de la Riba is the person who pushed for the 1914 greater autonomy given to Catalonia, referred to as *mancomunitat* (the Commonwealth of Catalonia) and was well known to be of right wing ideology, while Francesc Macià, another great Catalanist was of left wing ideology and is one of the founding fathers of *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*. Furthermore, Artur Mas states that he wants his project to be a combination of what each of these historical figures did. By so doing, the Catalan leader is telling his people that it does not matter whether they are affiliated to left-wing or right-wing parties, so long as these parties are fighting for the independence of Catalonia. This is therefore a very strong unificatory message, and it is no wonder that in 2015 parliamentary elections, Mas's political party (*Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya*, which is right-wing) united with *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*, and *Moviment d' Esquerrres* (both left-wing parties) amongst others to form the coalition known as *junts pel si* (Together for Yes), whose major goal was pushing for independence after achieving parliamentary majority.

To sum up, this section has attempted to demonstrate that one of Artur Mas's unification and cohesivation strategies is referring to historical personalities (and events) in a bid to use such figures as examples to follow. While presenting the achievements of those illustrious personalities, Artur Mas insists on the fact that though they were from different backgrounds and had distinct political affiliations, they all believed that Catalonia had the right to govern herself and always fought for that. Therefore, according to Artur Mas, present-day Catalans should learn from these historical figures and forget about their internal differences until they

the day they achieve independence. In terms of argumentation, the history-as-a-teacher topos is well used throughout these speeches in order to reinforce the need for Catalans to emulate what the builders of their nation did.

Apart from the above unification and cohesivation strategies where Artur Mas emphasizes common features to all Catalans such as national symbols and history, as represented by historical figures, and also encourages his people to be united through the use of deontic modality, the Catalan leader goes further to assimilate all the inhabitants of Catalonia, no matter their origins, beliefs and languages. Moreover, he stresses the fact that what he is doing is just a continuation of what has been done before and that he is just an heir to previous leaders who have been mentioned in this work. These strategies, which are very close to (and often interwoven with) Unification and Cohesivation strategies above are known in the Discourse-Historical Approach as Assimilation, Inclusion and Continuation strategies. They are discussed below.

4.4 Assimilation, Inclusion and Continuation strategies

“Ara ens toca a nosaltres, dones i homes de començaments del segle XXI, de fer servir la brúixola amb encert i tornar a mirar el mapa per avançar.”²⁸

Assimilation can be defined as the process of becoming part of a group or nation, out of one's own will or due to external constraints. This process is very close to inclusion which may be understood as being part of, or making up a bigger entity. According to Wodak et al. (1999: 33) strategies of assimilation “aim linguistically to create a temporal, interpersonal or spatial (territorial) similarity and homogeneity”. Therefore, Artur Mas presents the people of Catalonia as united in their plight by making use of nomination and predication strategies as well as common place arguments such as diversity, numbers and continuation. These strategies are enforced by various linguistic resources, namely metaphor, metonymy and

²⁸See example [74] for translation

personification and other lexical choices which are going to be discussed below. In addition to this, Mas also wants both the national and international communities to be aware that Catalan nationalism is not an invention of his and that he is instead taking over from his predecessors. This is what Wodak et al. refer to as strategies of continuation.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|--|--|---|--|
| Economic difficulties are shared by all | Nomination and predication In groups/ outgroup distinction, same boat topos, | First person verbs, sailing vocabulary, personal pronouns, possessives and deictics | Celebrem, estem, volem, superarem, vaixell, mar calma, vent de popa, brúixola, |
| Catalonia is united in diversity | Topos of diversity, Topos of name definition (generalitat) | Lexemes indicating diversity, definition of “generalitat” | Diversos, diverses, diferents, plural |
| Catalonia is a living being with emotions and desires | Nomination: Metonymy and metaphorical personification of Catalonia | Catalonia as the subject of verbs of feeling, desire and emotion. | Catalonia veure, el país és viu, reacciona. Catalunya quiere decidir |
| Catalonia is a nation | Nomination, Intensification | Emphasis on the word “nació” in conjunction with “catalunya” | Som una nació mil·lenària, com a nació, nació catalana |
| The independence struggle has been passed on from generation to generation | Topos of continuation, Topos of numbers, Nomination (Chain and gear metaphors) | Ordinal numbers, historical references (dates, events and people), | 129è President, institució creada el 1359, baula d’una cadena, d’aquell engranatge |

Table 4.5 Assimilation, inclusion and continuation

4.4.1 The economic difficulties of Catalonia are shared by all

This is the first assimilation and inclusion strategy used by Artur Mas in his speeches. As a matter of fact, he presents the problems of Catalonia as a common burden to all the territory's citizens. Most of these problems hover around the economic difficulties which affected Spain and the rest of the world around the time he was giving the speeches. When discussing these difficulties from a Catalan perspective, he makes sure he emphasizes the fact that Catalans as a whole, be they rich or poor, can feel the effects of the crisis. This is clearly illustrated in various examples, which we will be discussing subsequently.

[72] (Diada Nacional de Catalunya, 2012) **Celebrem** la Diada Nacional d'enguany **immersos en un clima de dificultats econòmiques i socials creixents**, amb una duresa gairebé sense precedents des de la recuperació de la democràcia i de l'autogovern, fa més de trenta anys. La crisi que **patim**, i que colpeja molts conciutadans nostres, sovint de manera punyent, es fa llarga i és més profunda del que es podia preveure. Són situacions que no agraden a ningú, amb les quals ningú es pot sentir confortable[...]. I deixar clar que per dura i llarga que sigui l'època d'adversitat que ens toca viure, li **donarem** la volta, la **superarem** i la **deixarem** enrere.

"We celebrate this year's National Day deep in a climate of increasing economic and social difficulties, at an almost unprecedented level since the restoration of democracy and self-government over thirty years ago. The crisis we are facing, and which affects many of our fellow citizens in an often serious way, is getting longer and deeper than was foreseen. These are situations that no one likes, with which no one can feel comfortable [...] And make it clear that no matter how long times of adversity that we are experiencing last, we will turn the situation around, overcome it and leave it behind."

[73] (Cap d'Any, 2011) **Pot semblar, envoltats com estem d'una boira espessa, que no tornaran els dies clars i lluminosos**. Que costarà de tornar a veure la silueta del benestar i de la prosperitat. És lògic i humà sentir-se així, perquè enmig de la boira et trobes desorientat, perdut, fins i tot angoixat. Tanmateix, repeteixo el que he dit: no hem de tenir por. **La boira s'anirà fent més fina, s'obriran escletxes i clarianes i veurem finalment el perfil de l'horitzó**. Un horitzó que volem net i clar, i compartit pels 7,5 milions de persones que donen sentit a la Catalunya del present.

"It may seem, as we are surrounded by a thick fog, that days will not be bright again. That it will be hard to see the silhouette of welfare and prosperity. It is logical and natural to feel that way, because in the midst of the fog, one can only be disoriented, lost, even apprehensive. But I repeat what I said: we should not be afraid. The fog will get lighter and clearer and we will finally see the horizon. A horizon that we want clean and clear and shared by the 7.5 million people who give meaning to the present Catalonia."

The above examples help us to understand the different linguistic strategies used by Mas to assimilate the population of Catalonia and thus consolidate his nationalist ideas by giving the feeling that all of them can feel the economic problems their territory is facing. First of all, it is worth noting Artur Mas's use of first person plural verbs such as “celebrem”, “patim”, “estem”, “volem”, “superarem” and “donarem”. By so doing, he suggests that the difficulties faced by the people of Catalonia are general, and that, he, fellow politicians, as well as members of the civil society all feel the effect of the crisis. He even anticipates critics who may say that the rich (including members of his party and other political allies) are not being affected by the crisis by stating that even if one may not be directly affected by the crisis, the fact that fellow Catalans are suffering affects them, since they are part of the same nation. This is exactly what transpires from these sentences taken from example [72] above.

La crisi que patim, i que colpeja molts conciutadans nostres, sovint de manera punyent, es fa llarga i és més profunda del que es podia preveure. Són situacions que no agraden a ningú, amb les quals ningú es pot sentir comfortable.

Therefore, no one, not even Mas himself, can feel comfortable when people are suffering. By thus presenting himself as another victim of the crisis, Artur Mas aims at gaining support from the main victims of the crisis, namely the people of Catalonia, who will then embrace the nationalist ideas he preaches. In fact, if we take into account the singularization strategies studied earlier, Spain is presented as the reason behind the economic crisis being experienced by Catalonia and breaking away is Mas's only solution to the economic difficulties they face. As a reminder, we mentioned the fact that Artur Mas consistently presents Catalonia as better than Spain, in all domains, including economy. In that presentation, Mas also suggests, Spain actually relies on flourishing Catalan assets to stabilise its crumbling economy. The price Catalonia has to pay in order to keep Spain away from total bankruptcy is thus the reason behind the economic difficulties faced Mas's countrymen.

- **We're in the same boat topos**

Apart from the use of first person verbs we realised that Artur Mas resorts to various examples of commonplace arguments or topoi. These arguments, which also aim at illustrating the fact that all Catalans are facing the same plight, all fall under what Wodak et al refer to as “we’re in the same boat topos”. Let’s consider the following examples.

[74] (Discurs d’investitura, 2010) Ara ens toca a nosaltres, dones i homes de començaments del segle XXI, de fer servir **la brúixola** amb encert i tornar a mirar el **mapa** per avançar.

“It is up to us, men and women of the early 21st century, to successfully make use of the compass, take a look back at our map and move forward.”

[75] (Cap d’Any, 2011) Sé que en el camí que estem seguint es cometen errors. El Govern tampoc no n’està lliure. És cert que **quan pilotes un vaixell amb la mar calma i el vent de popa**, els errors es noten menys; **amb la mar embravida i onades altes que vénen per tots els costats**, els errors es noten més. Però ni tan sols aquestes condicions duríssimes i sense precedents poden servir d’excusa per no reconèixer els errors. Els errors són errors, i punt. I el pitjor de l’error no és cometrel sinó negar-se a reconèixer-lo per excés d’orgull o de supèrbia, i no tenir propòsit d’esmena.

“I know that on the path we are following mistakes are made. The government is not exempt from mistakes either. It is clear that when sailing on a calm sea and in a light wind, mistakes are less noticeable; but on a troubled sea, with high waves coming from all sides, mistakes are more noticeable. Nevertheless, these very hard and unprecedented conditions cannot be reasons not to acknowledge our mistakes. Mistakes are mistakes, period. The worst thing about mistakes is not to make them, but to refuse to acknowledge them by excessive pride or arrogance, and to have no intention of making amends.”

[76] (Diada Nacional de Catalunya, 2014) Ara mateix, encara estem travessant **un mar de dificultats** molt grans per a moltes persones, compatriotes nostres. Les dificultats han sigut i són tan grans i els obstacles tan poderosos, que podíem haver quedat esborrats del paisatge de les nacions d’Europa i del món. Però feliçment no ha estat així:..

“Right now, we’re still going through a sea of difficulties which are overwhelming for many of our compatriots. The difficulties and obstacles have been so great and so powerful that we could have been wiped out of the list of Europe and the World’s nations . But fortunately this has not happened...”

Before analysing the above examples, it is worth noting that this topos falls within what has been described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as metaphors which have become so pervasive in our speech that we take them for granted, forgetting that they always convey certain

ideologies. According to proponents of cognitive science (who happened to have studied metaphors in a very deep manner), metaphors are examples of figurative language, mappings from one cognitive domain to another. In other words, cognitive scientists differentiate between a source domain, that is the original cognitive domain where a word is used, and a target domain, or the situation to which the given source domain word is transferred. For instance, John is a lion, “lion” is definitely a metaphor where some characteristics of the source meaning of “lion” such as strength, fierceness, resistance, are applied to a person. So the source domain would be the wild animal world and the target domain humanity. Coming back to the above examples, we can see that Artur Mas makes use of various sailing metaphors, in order to present the plight shared by all Catalans. In fact, the metaphors used by Artur Mas here are not as simple as the explanatory example we gave, but rather complex as they involve various elements. This is why it may be more suitable to describe them as sustained metaphors or allegories. In examples 74 and 75, which are drawn from his 2010 Inauguration and 2011 end-of-year speeches, Artur Mas makes references to various words related to sailing, such as the compass and the map, which were very important instruments to sailors before the invention of modern modern ways of finding direction such as radars and GPS. These instruments can be interpreted as Artur Mas’s encouragement for his people to embrace nationalism in order to achieve independence. After having identified their expected destination on the world political map -that is independence- the people of Catalonia have to make use of the compass (nationalism, solidarity, unity) in order to safely reach their destination. Asking the people of Catalonia to make use of these two instruments in order to move forward suggests that they are all in the same boat. This is exactly what he says in the second example above, which is taken from the 2011 end-of-year speech, and thus helps us better understand the topos being discussed here. As a matter of fact, he makes a direct reference to sailing when he talks about the fact that the pilot’s mistakes are more noticeable

when a boat sails in troubled waters. In other words, Catalonia is the boat, its people represent passengers and he, as well as his political allies are the pilots. The sea here represents the economic situation of Catalonia. A stable and prosperous economic situation can be likened to still waters while troubled waters represent difficult economic times. Finally, the water metaphor is used again to describe the difficulties Catalonia is going through in example 76, from Artur Mas's 2014 National Day speech. He states in the excerpt that the people of Catalonia are going through a sea of difficulties. Bearing in mind that going through a sea is only possible by boat or ship it is therefore another clear illustration of the we-are-in-the-same-boat topos.

The study of the above topos made us realise that two keywords are directly related to it, namely "vaixell" (which means "vessel", "boat" or "ship") and "rumb", meaning "direction". The word "vaixell" is used 5 times in Artur Mas's speeches and in four of these, it is clearly metaphorical. As concerns, "rumb", it is worth noting that though its translation into English ("course") may give the feeling that it is not clearly related to sailing, but if we go back to its origin and current use, it goes without saying that it is another example of sailing vocabulary. As a matter of fact, "rumb" comes from Latin "rhombus" which refers to geometric drawings which the Romans used to describe the direction of winds. Nowadays, it is still used in sailing in nautical jargon, the same way "course" is used. Coming back to the speeches, we thus realised that the four times it is used, "rumb" metaphorically refers to sailing. Therefore, this topos can be considered to be an important part of Mas's argumentation.

In addition to the examples we have studied earlier, there are some other situations where Artur Mas resorts to the we-are-in-the-same-boat topos, below are other examples which include the keywords we mentioned before, and whose summary is that all Catalans are in the same boat and should unite in order to resist and overcome the difficulties they are facing.

[77] (Discurs d'investitura, 2010) Malgrat els forts cops de vent i de mar que han fet escorar i alguns cops embarrancar el **vaixell** de la nostra història, la vitalitat del catalanisme ha proporcionat a la gent una **brúixola** i un **mapa** molt valuosos.

“Despite the heavy winds and storms which have put a strain on the boat of our history and sometimes left it aground, the vitality of Catalanism has given people the compass and map they needed.”

[78] (Diada Nacional de Catalunya, 2012) Si volem mantenir-nos dempeus enmig d'aquestes **fortes turbulències**, i **no perdre el rumb**, el nostre país ha de **navegar** sabent que quan l'**aigua inunda el vaixell** cal treure-la com sigui, si pot ser amb l'esforç de tothom, a canvi de **seguir flotant** i de poder **arribar a bon port**, un cop superada la **tempesta**. Precisament perquè hem d'estar traient **aigua del vaixell** de manera constant, demano no només comprensió, sinó compromís i implicació a tothom.

“If we want to keep standing strong amid such turbulence, and not lose our course, our country must navigate knowing that when water floods the boat it must be removed at all cost, if possible through the efforts of everyone in order to keep floating and to reach our destination, once the storm is overcome. Actually, since we should be taking water from the boat steadily, I am not asking for only understanding but also commitment and involvement of all.”

[79] (Discurs d'investitura, 2010) Sento un profund agraïment per totes les persones que durant tots aquests anys m'han ajudat a mantenir **el rumb de la nos-tra navegació**, i sobretot agraïment al poble de Catalunya, que d'una manera clara ha dipositat recentment una gran dosi de confiança en el nostre projecte.

“I feel a deep gratitude to all those who over the years have helped me to keep our sailing course, and a special gratitude to the people of Catalonia, who has recently placed a clear and great deal of confidence in our project.”

[80] (Discurs d'investitura, 2010) Vivim temps decisius per al futur de Catalunya, i probablement les decisions que prenguem ara marcaran **el rumb del país** durant temps més llargs que els que dura una sola legislatura.

“We are in decisive times for the future of Catalonia and probably, the decisions which are made now will shape the course of the country for longer than our term in power.”

Artur Mas's use of the above topos in order to consolidate the assimilation and inclusion of the people of Catalonia in the nationalist project is therefore another demonstration of the fact that the strategies discussed by Wodak *et al.*, are true, not only of Austrian nationalist discourse, but also of other identity building discourse in other countries and territories around the world, including Catalonia. Therefore, this justifies the suitability of the Discourse-Historical Approach for this study.

- **Chilton's perspective**

After carefully studying the examples provided above we realised that assimilation and inclusion were not only expressed by ideas such as shared economic hardship or commonplace arguments such as the same boat topos, but also by deictics like personal pronouns and possessive “nosaltres” (we) “nostre/nostra” (our) as well as demonstratives like “aquest”. As a matter of fact, from Chilton's Discourse Space Model perspective, deictics may mark proximal space, while other words illustrate medial or even distal discourse space. Therefore, in nationalist pieces of discourse first person plural pronouns, verbs and possessives, as well as demonstratives expressing closeness such as “aquest” always express proximal space and are often in fostering assimilation and inclusion. This is graphically represented in Figure 4.2. Below.

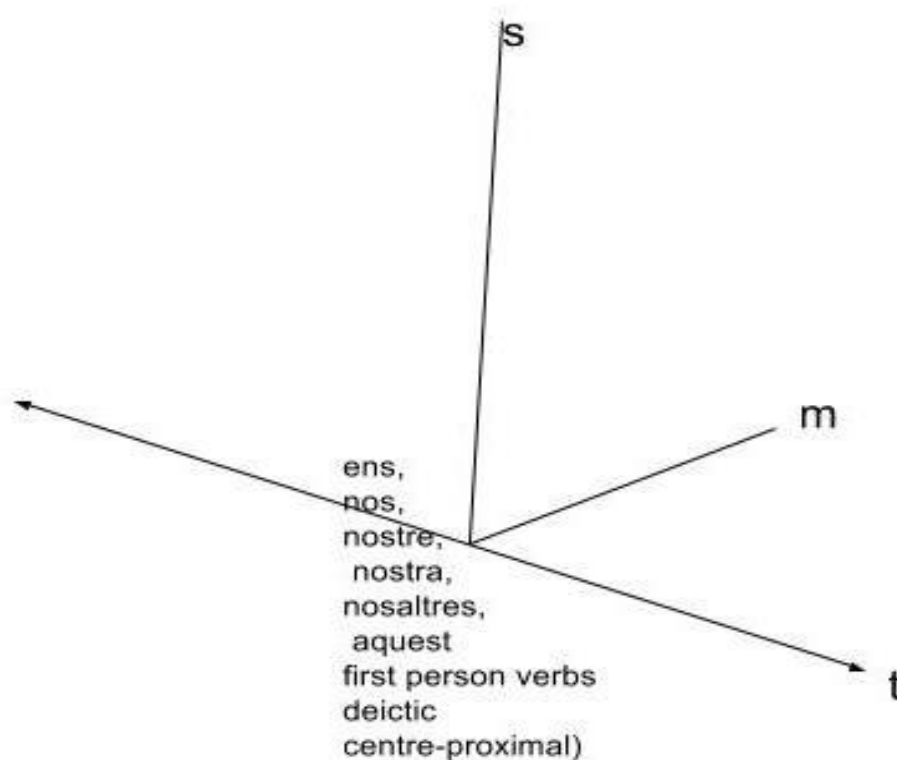


Figure 4.2 Proximal space deictics in assimilation and inclusion

Another assimilation and inclusion sub-strategy used by Artur Mas, is making reference to the different social components of Catalonia in order to stress the fact that the territory is united in diversity. This is discussed below.

4.4.2 Catalonia is united in diversity

Until very recently, Catalan nationalism was always associated with ethnic Catalans, who can be clearly identified by their surnames and first names, as well as by their linguistic choices. Even modern-day nationalism in Catalonia is still primarily founded on this, this is why the major figures of the political parties advocating independence in Catalonia are ethnic Catalans, whereas most of the leaders who are in favour of status quo hail from other parts of Spain. This is why Catalan nationalists have often been said to represent only a minority of Catalonia's population, that minority being made up of only ethnic Catalans. As a reaction to this, Catalan leaders have recently struggled to rally more and more people who were not traditionally associated to Catalan nationalism. These are descendants of migrants from other regions of Spain, as well as first and second generation immigrants from other countries. Hence, Artur Mas abides by this growing trend as evidenced in his speeches, where he often indicates that Catalan nationalists are open to all people who identify with Catalonia, no matter their ethnic background. This is a strong unificatory move on the part of Artur Mas, who, in the examples 81, 83 and, 84 below, even goes further to state that Catalonia is made up of people who may speak different languages and have different beliefs. This is totally opposed to traditional Catalanism, where Catalan is presented as the only language of Catalonia, Catholicism its religion and Saint George its patron Saint.

[81] (debat de Política general 2013) **De Nord a Sud, de Sud a Nord**, persones vingudes de tot Catalunya, de totes les edats, de parles diverses, de sensibilitats polítiques ben **plurals**, amb trajectòries i vides ben **diferents**, varen donar-se la mà en una gran manifestació de dignitat per Catalunya. En **cada baula d'aquella cadena**, en cada mà, hi havia una part de la dignitat del nostre país.

“From North to South, from South to North, people from all over Catalonia, of all age groups, speaking different languages, with various political sensitivities and very different backgrounds and lives were holding hands in a great demonstration of dignity for Catalonia. In every link of that chain, in each hand, there was a part our country’s dignity.”

[82] (foro nueva economia, 2012) A Catalunya tenim **més de 3 milions de persones amb arrels no catalanes**, compto les persones d’altres territoris espanyols i molts estaven a la manifestació. Els seus fills i néts han nascut a Catalunya. Són catalans.

“In Catalonia we have more than 3 million people with no Catalan roots. I include people from other parts of Spain, many of whom were at the demonstration. Their children and grandchildren were born in Catalonia. They are Catalans.”

[83] (declaració després signar decret de eleccions al parlament, 2015) Som un país **plural i divers**. Som un país amb una història mil·lenària, fruit del treball de dones i homes que generació rere generació han construït Catalunya i l’han estimada. Som un país fet per persones **d’origens, parles i creences diferents**, que han vist en aquesta terra l’oportunitat de créixer, desenvolupar-se i de donar un futur als seus fills i als seus néts.

“We are a pluralistic and diverse country. We are a country with an ancient history, the result of the work of women and men who, for generations, have built and loved Catalonia. We are a country made up of people of distinct origins, languages and beliefs, who have seen on this land the opportunity to grow, develop and give a future to their children and their grandchildren.”

[84] (debat de Política general 2013) **El nom de “generalitat” ho explica prou bé**. Sóc plenament conscient que represento, per tant, un poble sencer, que en el cas de Catalunya vol dir **un poble molt barrejat, de creences, parles i orígens molt diferents i molt diversos**.

“The name "generalitat" explains it well enough. I am fully aware that I represent, therefore an entire people, in the case of Catalonia means a very diverse people, with beliefs, languages and origins which are very different and varied...”

In these examples, we can see that Artur Mas makes use of various linguistic devices in order to assimilate the entire population of Catalonia and present the territory as a united entity. First of all, he mentions two cardinal points in a back and forth way- “from North to South, from South to North”. This statement suggests that there is total unity amongst Catalans, no matter the perspective from which things are taken. Actually, in addition to their literal meaning, the North and the South may be interpreted as various political sensibilities or affiliations. As a reminder, it is commonly known that people from the northern parts of Catalonia are more tied to Catalan nationalism than those of the south. This may be due to the

fact that northern regions are quite remote, since they are found just south of the Pyrenees, and have therefore received less Castilian influence than southern regions. Whatever the case, Artur Mas here points to the fact that all Catalans, moderate or hardline nationalists are in favour of independence. Moreover his lexical choices are an acknowledgement of the diversity of Catalonia, but also the inclusion of that diversity in the Catalan nation. As a matter of fact, he describes Catalonia and its people as diverse, different and plural but doesn't stop there. He actually believes that this diverse people form a chain, meaning that its different members are perfectly united. To prove such unity, he will make use of sustained metaphors and the name interpretation topos. To begin with sustained metaphors, we can see in the first example above that the fact that Catalans held hands during the demonstration Artur Mas is referring to can be compared to Catalonia being a chain, which though made up of different parts is a united whole. Catalonia is thus united in diversity, all members of the Catalan nation are looking in the same direction, and not even religion, language or ethnic origin can put this fact into question. Artur Mas goes further to use the name interpretation topos to consolidate his argument. In the second example above, he decides to interpret "generalitat" which is the official appellation of the Catalan autonomous government. This falls within Wodak *et al.* refer to as the topos of name interpretation. According to Mas, this appellation demonstrates again that this government is inclusive, and has achieved bringing together the people of Catalonia under the banner of nationalism. This is exactly what he tells the people of Spain in his referendum decree speech, as example 85 below shows.

[85] (declaración despues decret de consulta, 2014) La Catalunya que quiere votar es la de los siete millones y medio de personas que la componen; **personas de orígenes muy diversos, muchas de ellas procedentes de tierras españolas, y de lenguas también diversas.**

"The Catalonia that wants to vote is one made up of even and a half million inhabitants: people of very different origins (many of them from Spanish lands) and languages."

Nationalism should therefore, not be seen as the property of some specific group within Catalonia, but should instead be embraced by all people, no matter where they are from, which language they speak, the political parties or religious organisations they are affiliated to.

The united nature of Catalonia is also exemplified by Artur Mas's use of figures of speech which can be interpreted as metonymies or metaphorical personifications of the word Catalonia. These are going to be studied under the next heading.

4.4.3 Catalonia is a living body (metonymy and personification)

Metonymy is a stylistic device, which is very close to metaphor which has been mentioned before, when discussing the we-are-in-the-same-boat topos. As a matter of fact, when it started being studied in ancient Greece, the precursors of modern-day linguistics such as Aristotle considered metonymy, as well as synecdoche, as sub-categories of metaphor (Panther and Radden, 1999:1). Nevertheless, as opposed to metaphors, where a source domain is mapped to a target domain, in metonymies, there is a direct mapping within categories of the same domain. Therefore, cognitive scientists define metonymy as a “cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain or ICM” (Kovecses and Radden, 1998:39). Lakoff (1987: 78) states that metonymic models are Idealised Cognitive Models where there is a “stand for” relationship between two elements of the ICM under certain assumptions which he calls background conditions. To illustrate his point, he takes a sentence which will be clearly understood by all of us. This illustration is described below:

Wall Street advocated tax increase in America.

- Background condition: institutions are found in places
- Target element: New York Stock Exchange
- Source element: its location

So in metonymy, one thing is conceptualised through its close relation with another thing. In more simple terms, it means that a word whose meaning is very close to another word may be used to refer to the latter. Therefore, metonymy always involves words which have contiguous meanings. That contiguous relationship may be that of inclusion (Part-for-whole, Whole-for-part, place-for-institution or place-for-time metonymies), or origin (Producer-for-product, cause-for-effect metonymies).

The above notwithstanding, there are situations whereby both metaphors and metonymies are so close in speech that it is very difficult to classify one stylistic device as a metaphor or metonymy, as it is the case in the speeches of Artur Mas. Actually we realised that the Catalan nationalist often uses the word “Catalonia” to mean its inhabitants. This stylistic device can thus be interpreted as a place-for-inhabitants metonymy, as we are dealing with a mapping within the same Idealised Cognitive Model, But this same mapping can also be interpreted as a metaphor, a metaphorical personification to be more specific. This is exactly what Leith and Soule (2012) indicate in their study of nationalism in Scotland. According to them, there are various types of metaphors including the NATION IS A PERSON metaphor which is widespread in nationalist discourse. Nevertheless, they also concur with us on the fact that this metaphor is very close to metonymy as exemplified in the following quote:

In congruence with the SCOTLAND IS A PERSON metaphor are cases of metonymy. This is a process whereby one thing which is considered as being from the same semantic field of reference can stand for something else in the field (Taylor 1995:122). For example ‘the White House today delivered a response to recent criticisms’ is an example of metonymy in which ‘the White House’ is able to stand for a range of possible agents such as the press office of the Presidency or the entire executive branch of the USA. In our examples Scotland often stands for Scotland the person as well as for the Scottish people. (2012: 66)

They then go on to offer a way of differentiating metaphorical personification from metonymy. If the nation acts directly as a person, then it is a metaphor, but if there is a clear

link between the nation and personal pronouns or deictics such as “we”, “us”, “here”. Then this would be a case of metonymy.

Whatever the case, even when we consider metaphor and metonymy from a purely Critical Discourse Analysis approach, it can be stated with a high degree of certainty that these linguistic devices are always used to artificially bring people together and therefore push for the birth of an imagined community. Therefore, Wodak *et al.* (1999, 2009: 43) concur by saying that “Synecdoche, metonymy, personification or metaphor are employed to create sameness between people and are primarily used in connection with discursive strategies.”

The above being said, it goes without saying that both the cases of metaphorical personification and metonymy of “Catalonia” found in Artur Mas’s speeches are aimed at giving the feeling that there is total unity amongst Catalans and that the latter are all behind the independence movement. In other words, Artur Mas paints the image of a fully homogeneous Catalonia, where only one voice can be heard, namely that of independence. Let’s consider the following examples:

[86] (Cap d’any, 2011) **Catalunya vol** veure respectada la seva identitat, les seves institucions, la seva cultura, el seu dret i la seva llengua.

“Catalonia wants its identity, its institutions, its culture, its law and its language to be respected.”

[87] (debat de política general, 2013) **Catalunya ha fet un esforç** proporcionalment molt superior al que li correspondria tenint en compte el pes que té la seva despesa en el conjunt de la despesa de totes les administracions públiques, i també si s’analitza només a nivell de les comunitats autònomes.

“Catalonia has made a proportionately much higher effort than what would apply given the weight of its expenditure in the overall expenditure of all public administrations, and also when only considering Autonomous Communities.”

[88] (debat de política general, 2013) **Catalunya ha sabut projectar-se** i singularitzar-se a nivell internacional com un país imaginatiu, creatiu, divers, tolerant, amb una cultura i llengua pròpies.

“Catalonia has been able to project and distinguish itself internationally as an imaginative, creative, diverse and tolerant country, with a culture and language of its own.”

[89] (debat de política general, 2013) **El país és viu, molt viu. I reacciona. Es mobilitza.** Està fatigat duna relació amb l'Estat a la qual no li veu futur, en les condicions actuals. A risc d'equivocar-me, els trasllado la meua percepció: Catalunya sent afecte real per Espanya, se l'estima; però ja no confia en l'Estat espanyol.

“The country is alive, very much alive. And it reacts. It mobilizes. It is tired of a relationship with the State in which it sees no future under current conditions. At the risk of being wrong, this is my understanding: Catalonia feels real affection for Spain and respects it, but no longer trusts Spain.”

[90] (declaració després decret de consulta, 2014) **Catalunya quiere decidir** pacífica y democráticamente su futuro político. Los lazos de hermandad que nos unen con el resto de pueblos de España son intensos y profundos [...] Catalunya quiere hablar, quiere ser escuchada, quiere votar.

“Catalonia wants to decide peacefully and democratically its political future. The bonds of brotherhood that unite us with the rest of the peoples of Spain are intense and profound [...] Catalonia wants to speak, wants to be heard, wants to vote.”

[91] (declaració després decret de consulta, 2014) Y una vez **Catalunya se haya manifestado democráticamente**, encontremos los marcos de diálogo necesarios para construir el futuro. Un futuro mejor para todos. Este es nuestro deseo.

“And once Catalonia has manifested itself democratically, let us find the frameworks of dialogue necessary to build the future. A better future for all. This is our wish.”

[92] (discurs d'investitura, 2010) En aquest sentit, estic ferma-ment convençut que **Catalunya tornarà a vèncer** en aquests moments difícils de la seva història.

“In this regard, I am firmly convinced that Catalonia will again overcome these difficult times in its history.

[93] (mancomunitari, 2014) No ho oblidem, perquè des del principi de tot, des d'aquest 1914 fins ara, en tots els moments que **Catalunya ha tingut capacitat de governar-se** fins a cert punt ella mateixa, ho ha intentat fer amb concòrdia, amb voluntat d'entesa i amb voluntat de pacte amb l'estat espanyol.”

“Let's not forget it, because from the outset, from 1914 to date, whenever Catalonia has had the capacity to somewhat govern itself, it has tried to do so with harmony and willingness to achieve understanding and cooperation with Spain.”

In the above examples we can see that Catalonia is given various attributes that would normally belong to a human being. Catalonia has feelings, desires and emotions, the nation wants to speak, the nation has democratically stated its mind etc. Whether these examples are interpreted as cases of Place for Inhabitants metonymy or Nation as a Person metaphor, what

remains clear is that they aim at presenting Catalonia as a united whole, a nation and not just a mere artificial construction like Spain. This stylistic device is highly valued not only by Artur Mas, but is a common feature of nationalist discourse.

4.4.4 Catalonia is a nation

In addition to using metonymy and metaphor (or personification) to present Catalonia as a homogeneous whole, as presented earlier, Artur Mas also makes use of the same nomination strategies and others to construct the idea of Catalonia as a nation. In addition, he makes use of intensification to achieve the same goal. There is no national identity construction which is greater than actually describing or referring to one's group as a nation. Thus, all other strategies discussed under this part derive somehow from this nominative strategy of Mas's. Before getting into the intricacies of Mas's use of the word "nation" in order to describe Catalonia, it is worth reiterating what we said about nations²⁹.

There have been various attempts at defining a nation, and each of them focused on various factors ranging from genetics to geography or history. Nevertheless, Manent (2007) states that the most reliable definition of nation can only be a combination of those different factors. Nations are not constituted only because people within them share the same genetic background, but genetics clearly plays an important part when it comes for constituting nations. In addition to it, a common history and the same geography or political administration can develop in people the awareness of being part of the same nation. But as Anderson (1983) stated, for a community to be formed, there must be a definite (but often subtle) will to bring it to life. That is why, in Critical Discourse Analysis, we think that nationalism is mainly a social construct. That said, one of the ways one can raise awareness of the fact that people live in a nation is by reference. This is exactly what Artur Mas does

²⁹ See chapter 1 for full definition

when he describes Catalonia as a nation, which implies political, cultural and linguistic homogeneity. In the speeches we studied, the word “nació” is used 33 times while its plural form “nacions” is used 10 times. In 13 of these uses, the word “nació” is closely preceded or followed by “catalunya” (Catalonia) or “catalana” (Catalan-feminine) and in the overwhelming majority, the word clearly refers to Catalonia or its people. This is illustrated below:

[94] (discurs d’investitura, 2010) Per això, la **nació catalana** ha sobrevis-cut a diversos intents d’aniquilació.

“For this reason, the Catalan nation has survived several attempts to wipe it out.”

[95] (Diada Nacional de Catalunya, 2012) Aspirem a més com a **nació** perquè aspirem a més com a societat, i a l’inrevés.

“We aspire to more as a nation because we aspire to more as a society, and vice versa.”

[96] (Motiu de la cimera de BCE, 2012) Els dono la benvinguda a Barcelona com a President d’una de les **més velles nacions d’Europa**.

“I welcome you to Barcelona as the President of one of Europe’s oldest nations.”

[97] (declaració després de decret de eleccions, 2015) **Som una nació mil·lenària** que té dret a decidir el seu futur, som una nació de persones lliures que ens hem guanyat el dret a decidir com volem ser i com volem governar-nos.

“We are an ancient nation that has the right to decide its future, we are a nation of free people and we have earned the right to decide how we want to be and how we want to be governed.”

Once he has presented his territory as a nation, Artur Mas therefore confirms that the people of Catalonia are united as evidenced by their shared trouble and difficulties, but are also united in their desire to break away from Spain.

At this juncture, we have so far discussed unification, cohesivation, assimilation and inclusion strategies Artur Mas resorts to in order to construct the imagined Catalan community. It was noticed that the Catalan nationalist makes a lot of effort, not only to present Catalonia as a united whole, but also to enjoin all those lagging behind to join his political struggle towards the territory’s independence. As far as the linguistic resources been

used are concerned, we highlighted not only the use of deontic modality and lexemes expressing obligation, but also constant references to sailing vocabulary in a commonplace argument which Ruth Wodak called we-are-in-the-same-boat topos. We also discussed the use of metaphor and metonymy in order to assimilate all Catalans and therefore give more elbow power to the independence struggle. It is worth noting here that, while discussing unification and cohesivation strategies, we also stated the fact that Artur Mas often mentioned historical figures of Catalonia in a bid to unite the people around him. Reference to the past, as it were, also fall within what Wodak *et al* call continuation strategies. As a matter of fact, Mas wants to make sure the people of Catalonia understand that the independence struggle did not start in 2010 when Mas became the leader of the Catalan Autonomous government, but it is a project that has been handed over to them by previous generations. These continuation strategies are going to be discussed under the next heading.

4.4.5 The independence struggle has been passed on from generation to generation

The above heading is one of the most important points Artur Mas wants to prove. Therefore, in various of his speeches he discusses past events which can justify the need to fight for independence on the part of his people. Moreover, he always makes sure he presents himself using ordinal numbers in order to make the recipients of his message understand that he is just a mere successor to generations of freedom fighters. This is evidenced in the examples below:

[98] (declaració del president després decret de consulta, 2014) **Tinc l'honor de ser el 129è President de la Generalitat de Catalunya, institució creada el 1359** i que des de la primera presidència de Berenguer de Cruïlles ha estat reflex durant gairebé set segles de la voluntat d'autogovern dels catalans. Al llarg d'aquests set segles només imposicions externes han provocat la suspensió de l'autogovern.

"I have the honour to be the 129th President of the *Generalitat* of Catalonia, an institution founded in 1359 and which, from the first presidency of Berenguer de Cruïlles, has been reflecting for almost seven centuries the Catalan people's desire for

autonomy. Over the seven centuries only external impositions have caused the suspension of self-government.”

[99] (foro nueva economia 2012) **Sóc el 129 president de Catalunya** i, com a tal, aspiro a què la dignitat i la continuïtat d’aquesta cadena no baixi de cop sinó que es mantingui a un nivell prou digne.

“I am the 129th president of Catalonia and, as such, I hope the dignity and continuity of this chain will not suddenly stop but will be kept at an acceptable level..”

As we can see in examples 98 and 99 above, Artur Mas insists that his term is just a mere continuation of a project that the 128 presidents who preceded him carried out. Moreover, he emphasizes the fact that the Catalan Generalitat is a very old institution, which has never gone astray when it comes to its main goal, that is, fighting for self-determination. As he describes, the Catalan autonomous government, has always been doing everything possible to keep foreign interference at bay and to let the Catalan people exercise their freedom. By so doing, subsequent presidents have had to face criticism, oppression and even death, but this has not killed the original spirit of which Artur Mas wants to be the bearer. In the following example, he presents himself as an heir to a series of presidents, and does not fail to mention their achievements in the Catalan society. He does not name all his 128 predecessors, but rather lays emphasis on those of them whose achievements have positively contributed to making Catalonia what it is today or whose actions and maybe martyrdom, have consolidated in subsequent generations the desire to fight for the liberation of the people of Catalonia.

[100] (discurs d’investitura, 2010) Jo vull escoltar el batec d’avui perquè em sento hereu de tots els que m’han precedit en el lideratge del país. Em sento hereu d’**Enric Prat de la Riba** (forjador de la primera Administració catalana, el 1714, per minsa que fos), de **Fran-cesc Macià** (el president estimat, idealista, que va saber captar la realitat sense renunciar als ideals), de **Lluís Companys** (el president afusellat pel fet de ser president de Catalunya), de **Josep Irla** (el president de la resistència), de **Josep Tarradellas** (el president de la continuïtat, del retorn i de la recuperació de la Generalitat), de **Jordi Pujol** (el president constructor de la Catalunya moderna, promotor del respecte i del bon nom de Catalunya), de **Pasqual Maragall** (el president del nou Estatut) i de **José Montilla** (el president que exemplifica l’èxit del model català d’integració). De tots ells, n’agafo el millor, de tots ells en vull preservar el llegat més valuós. A tots ells els hem de donar les gràcies per haver dirigit el país i servit la seva gent. Jo, humilment, vull continuar fent camí.

“I want to hear today’s heartbeat because I feel like an heir to all those who have preceded me in the leadership of the country. I feel like an heir to Enric Prat de la Riba (mastermind of the first Catalan government, in 1714, no matter how meager it was), Francesc-Macia (the beloved idealistic President who was able to capture reality without sacrificing our ideals) to Lluís Companys (who was executed for being the President of Catalonia), Josep Irla (The President of resistance) to Josep Tarradellas (President of continuity, of the renaissance and recovery of the Generalitat) of Jordi Pujol (The President who built modern Catalonia, promoting the respect and reputation of Catalonia), Pasqual Maragall (President of the new Statute) and José Montilla (the President who exemplified the success of the Catalan model of integration). Of all of them, I keep the best, of all of them, I want to preserve the most valuable legacy. We all have to thank them for having led the country and served their people. I humbly want to walk in their footsteps.”

The above text is thus a way for Artur Mas to convey the idea that he has taken over a relay from these people, who all contributed to what Catalonia is. Reference to historical figures is not the only strategy Artur Mas makes use of the express continuation. In fact he also resorts to metaphors to clearly illustrate what he means.

- **Chain and gearing metaphors**

We previously mentioned how Artur Mas particularly cherishes the use of metaphors when it comes to constructing national identity amongst his people. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, Mas resorts to this stylistic device in order to rally all Catalans behind the national struggle for independence, but also makes use of it to present Catalonia as a homogeneous entity. Therefore, it is no wonder that metaphor is again used by Artur Mas in order to illustrate the passing of the independence struggle from generation to generation, that is continuation. The chain metaphor, which could be also interpreted as a sustained metaphor involves several things which are going to be analysed subsequently. In addition to the chain, Artur Mas also resorts to a gearing so as to illustrate the idea of continuation in Catalan nationalism. But for now, let’s consider examples 101 and 102 below.

[101] (foro nueva economia, 2012) També pretenc ser una digna **baula d’una cadena de presidents** que ha deixat empremta. Sóc el 129 president de Catalunya i, com a tal, aspiro a què la dignitat i la continuïtat d’aquesta cadena no baixi de cop sinó que es mantingui a un nivell prou digne.

“I also intend to be a worthy link in a chain of presidents has left its mark. I am the 129th president of Catalonia and, as such, I hope the dignity and continuity of this chain will not suddenly stop but will be kept at an acceptable level.”

[102] (presa de possessió, 2010) I jo, senyores i senyors, amigues i amics, en sento com **una baula més d’aquella cadena, d’aquell engranatge** que va començar fa més de mil anys, que ha de continuar durant molt més anys i que, com deia abans el president Montilla, **en aquesta baula, en aquesta cadena, en aquest engranatge**, els que hi passem, fins i tot els que assumim les principals responsabilitats, el que hem de fer és sentir-nos sempre humils servidors d’aquest país que és el nostre.

“And, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, I feel like another link in that chain, that gearing which began more than a thousand years ago, which should continue for more years. And, as President Montilla said before, some of us who are on this link, in the chain, in this gearing, that is, those who assume major responsibilities should always consider themselves to be humble servants in this country of ours.”

In the above excerpts we can see that Artur Mas likens the presidency of Catalonia to a chain.

As we know, a chain is made up of several links making up the whole thing. There is a total interdependence between the links and the absence of one of those will definitely destroy the whole structure. Moreover, the more links you add to the chain, the longer it gets and the further it can span. As a matter of fact, Artur Mas considers the struggle for Catalan independence and the Catalan nation as a chain, a united whole. All the presidents who governed the country are the links, they have all contributed to building the Catalan nation and without their respective contributions the Catalan independence struggle would not have gone so far. Then, Artur Mas considers himself to be another link in the chain. His presence there would be meaningless if we were not taking over from his predecessors. But again his contribution will take the independence struggle to another level.

In example 102 above, we see that when Mas does not liken the Catalan project as a chain, he makes use of another metaphor which is very close to the former, that is, the gearing metaphor. To understand this metaphor, we have to first of all know what gears are and how they operate. A gear is a toothed wheel which functions with other wheels in order to regulate the speed of moving devices. Gearing refers to the mounting of several gears for the purpose

stated before. It is totally impossible for a gear to be useful on its own, since it always has to work with other gears for speed regulation to be achieved.

So Artur Mas's use of the gearing metaphor can be understood as another way to connect his presidency to that of his predecessors. He and his predecessors are gears, and the Catalan independence struggle is the moving device within which these gears operate. The individual actions of the presidents of the Catalan generalitat, have therefore contributed to making Catalonia move towards independence, and instead of working on his own, Artur Mas suggests that he can tap into what his predecessors have achieved, make a convenient use of it and take Catalonia a bit forward. The independence enterprise is therefore a historical and current one, something which connects former presidents to the one he is at the time he delivers the speeches studied.

To sum up, we can see that Artur Mas uses lots of linguistic strategies to present his term as president of Catalonia and the struggle for independence he spearheads as a continuation of what has been done since the foundation of the Catalan autonomous government. More specifically, he clearly mentions former presidents and their achievements, and makes use of ordinal numbers (by presenting himself as the 129th president of the Generalitat) in order to emphasize that continuity. Furthermore, continuation is expressed by Mas's use of two sustained metaphors, namely the chain and gearing metaphors. Though these metaphors may resort to two different sources they all have the goal of connecting Catalonia's past presidents to Artur Mas, and also presenting the independence struggle as a project Mas took over from the said presidents. The chain metaphor is even taken further by Artur Mas to include, not only the leaders or presidents of Catalonia, but the people as a whole. All Catalans from the past and now are all united for a common goal, that is independence. This alleged unity of the people of Catalonia is going to be one of the major justification strategies used by Artur Mas, as discussed in the following part.

4.6 Justification strategies

“Malgrat la prohibició i tota la maquinaria institucional de l'Estat en contra, molts milers de catalans van fer un exercici d'autoafirmació, de respecte, de democràcia i de lliure opinió en llibertat.”³⁰

Given the fact that all the strategies discussed above can be interpreted as directed towards justifying the Catalan struggle for independence, and our belief that it is possible to establish a difference between legitimacy and legality (which are clearly defined in Chapter 5) we decided to make use of the word “justification” to describe what which Wodak et al. clearly refer to as legitimation strategies. Before getting into these strategies proper, it is worthy to attempt to define what we mean by justification strategies and therefore clearly pave the way to what is going to be discussed in this section. Justification (or legitimation as known in research) has been studied by various CDA researchers and all of them attempted to define it. According to Paul Chilton (2004: 46) legitimation is a tool in the hands of the powerful, who will make use of it in order to enforce political decisions and therefore consolidate their rule. Therefore, he states that justification “is closely linked to coercion, because it establishes the right to be obeyed...” Fairclough and Fairclough take a less radical position by defining justification as an “argumentative process in which is justified in terms of reasons which can themselves, in turn, be justified as (worthy of being) collectively accepted or recognised” (2012: 242). Finally Van Leuwen (2008: 22) who extensively studied justification strategies thinks that they are discursive ways in which some social practices can be justified.

Our understanding of justification is therefore a combination of the different definitions which have been given above. As a matter of fact, though we are fully aware of the fact that justification is often a form of manipulation and coercion, and thus an important characteristic feature of hegemonic discourse, it goes without saying that the less powerful may also make use of justification in order to give the rationale for their actions and maybe

³⁰ See example [107] for translation

gain more support and power. In the situation being discussed, Catalan nationalists may be powerful within Catalonia but if we take things from a wider perspective, they are not that influential. Thus, the strategies we will be classifying under justification are those whose aim is stating that Catalonia and its people have the right to self-determination and independence. Justification strategies are very often underpinned by topoi such as democracy or majority rule, human rights, economic and social welfare, just to name a few³¹. The strategies are discussed below.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|--|---|--|--|
| Numbers speak in our favour | Topos of statistics/numbers, Topos of democracy, Topos of comparison | Population statistics (Cardinal numbers and percentages) | cents de milers, un milió i mig de persones, molts milers, majoria, part significativa |
| The people of Catalonia have the right to self-determination | Topos of Human Rights | Lexemes indicating right to self determination | Dret a decidir, selfdetermination |
| Catalonia is exploited by Spain | Topos of statistics/numbers, topos of finance, and topos of comparison, topos of economic welfare | Percentages, lexemes indicating comparison, rhetorical questions | el 16% de la població espanyola, el 19% del PIB, superior, inferior |

Table. 4.6 Justification strategies

4.6.1 Numbers speak in our favour

One of Artur Mas's most cherished justification strategies is the use of numbers in order to tell the world that Catalan nationalism is backed by an overwhelming majority of Catalans and that he is not a lone wolf in that struggle. This strategy is closely related to the topos of

³¹ See Table 4.6 for full description

majority rule or democracy as evidenced by how often Artur Mas resorts to population statistics, as well the words “majoria” and “democràcia”.

To begin with population statistics, Artur Mas, often mentions the fact that Catalonia is made up of 7.5 million inhabitants. This argument is built on the topos of comparison and is tantamount to saying that if nations with smaller populations could achieve independence and self-rule, then Catalonia also has the right to self-determination and independence. This strategy is also aimed at debunking popular belief that Catalonia is just a peripheral region of Spain and cannot survive on its own. Therefore, according to Artur Mas, population statistics are there to prove that Catalonia is big and diverse enough to become a fully fledged country. What is more, Artur Mas may also emphasize the number of inhabitants in Catalonia to bring out the fact that most members of that significant population voted for his project. Therefore, Catalan independence is not just the concern of a tiny minority, but a struggle which is waged by millions of Catalans. The following example clearly evidence Artur Mas’s use of population statistics to reinforce the idea that the inhabitants of Catalonia as a whole are in favour of the independence struggle.

[103] (Diada nacional de Catalunya, 2012) Cada dia que passa més i més catalanes i catalans s’incorporen al sentiment i al concepte que és a nosaltres, els **set milions i mig de persones** que configurem la Catalunya d’avui, a qui ens correspon decidir lliurement el nostre futur com a poble i com a nació.

“Every day that passes more and more Catalans and Catalans embrace the feeling and the concept that belongs to us, the seven and a half million people that make up today’s Catalonia, as we are responsible for freely deciding our future as a people and as a nation.”

[104] (Diada nacional de Catalunya, 2014) la nació catalana és viva; tenim país; i ens preparem democràticament, cívicament i pacíficament per decidir el nostre futur col·lectiu, el de **set milions i mig** de catalanes i de catalans.

“The Catalan Nation is alive, we have a country; and we are preparing ourselves democratically, respectfully and peacefully to decide on our collective future, that of seven and a half million Catalans.”

In addition to using statistics relating to Catalonia's overall population, Artur Mas usually makes use of numbers in order to describe the number of people who support him and the political project he is trying to put in place. For instance, he often describes the turnout of the pro-independence demonstrations that often take place in Catalonia. Artur Mas's use of statistics here aims at emphasizing the heavy turnout of these demonstrations and once again reinforce the idea that self-determination and independence are backed by the people of Catalonia. In addition to specific numbers, he may also use broader numerical descriptions like "milers" (thousands) as demonstrated below.

[105] (Foro nueva economia, 2012) Considera que els **cents de milers** de catalans que van sortir a manifestar-se podrien sentir-se més còmodes dintre d'una Espanya federal?

"Could the hundreds of thousands of Catalans who went demonstrating feel more comfortable in a federal Spain?"

[106] (debat de politica general, 2013) Diada Nacional 2012: **un milió i mig de persones**, en la manifestació més nombrosa feta a Catalunya, ocupen cívicament els carrers de la capital de Catalunya, sota el lema "Catalunya, nou Estat d'Europa".

"National Day 2012: One and a half thousand people, in the largest ever demonstration in Catalonia, civically take to the street of Catalonia's Capital city under the slogan "Catalonia, Europe's new State""

[107] (cap d'any, 2014) Malgrat la prohibició i tota la maquinaria institucional de l'Estat en contra, **molts milers** de catalans van fer un exercici d'autoafirmació, de respecte, de democràcia i de lliure opinió en llibertat.

"Despite the ban and all the State machinery against them, thousands of Catalans exercised self-affirmation, respect, democracy and freedom of opinion."

[108] (Moment zero, 2015) Cada vegada que un Onze de Setembre en aquest país hi ha hagut una mobilització d'**un milió i mig** de persones al carrer, pacíficament, ens hem situat a l'escena internacional.

"Every time that on September 11th in this country there has been a peaceful demonstration of one million and a half people in the streets, we have positioned ourselves in the international arena."

As concerns the use of "majoria" we realised that it appears in 10 of the 15 Catalan speeches which were analysed in this research work. With a total of 37 tokens, this word overwhelmingly describes the institutions or people of Catalonia. Moreover, in close to half of the times it is used, "majoria" is intensified by adjectives such as "clara", that is, "clear" (9

tokens) or other words such as *àmplia/ amplíssima*, “(very) wide”, (6 tokens) *sòli-da* (“solid”), *sonora* (“resounding”) or *folgada* (wide). These intensifiers alone make up close to 50 % of the collocates of “majoria” and even when these intensifiers are not used, other words may either be grammatically neutral or non pejorative. This is illustrated in in Chart 4.4. Below

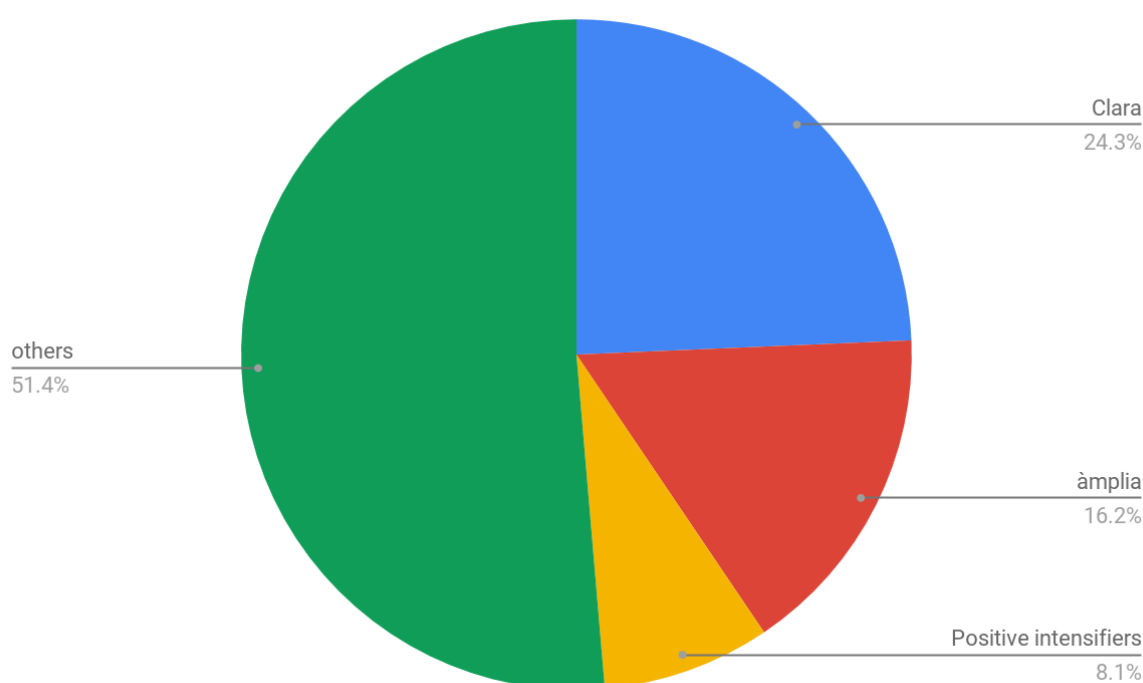


Chart 4.5 Concordance results for “majoria”

As we mentioned earlier, Artur Mas wants to make sure he tells the world that the struggle for independence is the result of a consensus amongst Catalans. This is clearly illustrated in the examples below:

[109] (debat de política general, 2013) I si una **majoria del poble català** desitja canviar l'estatus polític, en forma d'Estat, és perquè vol seguir tenint país i, sobretot, el vol tenir molt millor.

“And if the majority of the Catalan people want to change their political status, that is, to become a state, it is because they want to continue having a country and, above all, they want to make it better.”

[110] (Diada nacional de Catalunya, 2014) Demà **una part significativa del poble català** tornarà a demostrar al món quina és la via catalana d'entendre la democràcia i la llibertat. I es tornarà a fer palès, un any més, que **la majoria social** que fa possible el

procés polític que viu Catalunya no defalleix, sinó que continua més viva i forta que mai.

“Tomorrow, a significant part of the Catalan people will show the world the Catalan way of understanding democracy and freedom. And they will make it clear once again that the social majority that instigated the political process which Catalonia is undergoing has not died but is still alive and is getting stronger than ever. “

[111] (declaración después decret de consulta, 2014) Va ser el novembre de 2012, quan el poble de Catalunya, mitjançant el seu vot en unes eleccions de **gran participació**, va conformar **una majoria parlamentària** clarament favorable al dret a decidir.

“It was on November 2012 that the people of Catalonia, through their vote in elections with a heavy turnout clearly consolidated a parliamentary majority in favor of the right to decide.”

[112] (Moment zero, 2015) I el fet de donar aquest valor a la política, de compromís amb la gent-,evidentment no amb tothom, quan dic la gent vull dir **la majoria de la societat catalana**-, això ha tornat a donar valor a la política amb majúscules i això era un repte que teníem pendent poc o molt en el nostre país.

“And giving such a value to politics, that of commitment to the people- obviously not to everyone. When I say people I mean the majority of the Catalan society- has given back some value to politics as a whole and this is a challenge we had faced for some time in our country.”

Furthermore, Artur Mas also talks about majorities (“majorities” in Catalan), and the Catalan word appears 8 times throughout the speeches, further evidencing the fact that Mas’s project enjoys full support, as exemplified below.

[113] (Debat de política general, 2013) Des d’aquesta consciència m’agradaria adreçar-los dos missatges: el primer, que les minories no poden ni han d’obstaculitzar el camí que **les majories** han decidit emprendre, sempre que aquest camí s’expressi de forma democràtica i pacífica.

“From this awareness, I would send them two messages: first, that minorities cannot and should not hinder the majority in the path they have decided to undertake as long as it is expressed democratically and peacefully.”

[114] (Declaració després decret de consulta, 2014) Des d’aleshores quatre màximes han guiat aquest procés: **àmplies majories socials**, consens polític, cerca constant del diàleg i respecte als marcs legals.

●**Majories socials** que són fruit de les multitudinàries manifestacions populars, i sobretot de l’expressió lliure i democràtica a les urnes. Majories socials que a través del vot van configurar un Parlament amb àmplies majories polítiques a favor del dret a decidir i de trobar una solució política pel nostre futur, solució que ha de ser consultada a tots els catalans i catalanes.

“Since then, four principles have guided this process: large social majorities, political consensus, a constant desire for dialogue and respect of law.

●Social majorities that are the result of multiple mass demonstrations, and above all the free and democratic expression at polls. Social majorities which through polls set up a Parliament overwhelmingly in favor of the right to decide and the need to find a political solution for our future, a solution which must be proposed to all Catalans.”

In addition to the above, it is important to note that in one speech in particular (declaració del president després de la signatura del decret de convocatòria de la consulta, 2014) , Artur Mas addresses not only his fellow compatriots of Catalonia, but other citizens of Spain and the world at large. In that speech, he switches from Catalan to Spanish (when addressing citizens of other parts of Spain) and English (when talking to the international community). Our analysis of the non-catalan parts of his speech made us realise that he also makes use of “mayoría” in Spanish and “majority” in English, once and twice respectively. These uses, which are presented below, make us conclude that the lexis “majoria/majorities” and their Spanish and English cognates are used 48 times throughout Mas’s speeches.

[115] Two years ago, I called early elections. My purpose was to know how large the **social majority** in favour of the right of selfdetermination was. The turnout was the highest in three decades. The outcome was clear: more than two-thirds of the members of Parliament were in favour of the right to decide.

As a consequence of all that, today I called a consultation on November 9 to know the opinion of the catalan people above 16 about the question on selfdetermination. That question was agreed with the majority of the catalan political forces in December last year.

[116] A nadie puede asustarle que alguien exprese su opinión con un voto en una urna. Este es nuestro compromiso, así nos lo han mandado **una gran mayoría** de catalanes con su voto en las últimas elecciones autonómicas. Catalunya quiere hablar, quiere ser escuchada, quiere votar

“Expressing one’s opinion by casting a vote should scare nobody. This is our commitment, and we have been mandated by a large majority of Catalans with their vote in the last regional elections. Catalonia wants to talk, wants to be heard, wants to vote.”

We also mentioned the fact that democracy is an important keyword in Artur Mas’s speeches. Actually, “democràcia” appears 21 times in 8 of the speeches and is usually related to the plight of the people of Catalonia. According to Mas, the steps they have been taking in order to push for the independence of their territory are purely democratic, because they reflect the

will of the people of Catalonia as a whole and have always been characterised by the respect of institutions. The constant use of the word is another evidence of Artur Mas's constant resort to the topos of democracy to justify his territory's independence struggle. This is exactly what transpires from the following examples.

[117] (foro nueva economia 2012) les estadístiques de la GU i la Policia Autonòmica parlen de 1,5 M persones, però el que era evident és que hi havia una multitud ingent, pacífica i que el que estava fent era subratllar un projecte propi. No anava contra ningú, no s'insultava, no era un bronca, era subratllar un projecte propi i això **en democràcia és el que toca**.

“Council and local police statistics talk of 1.5 million people, but what is clear is that there was a huge peaceful crowd that wanted to emphasize a project of theirs. They rose against nobody and did not insult anybody. Far from being a demonstration of anger, it was an emphasis on a project, and this is normal in a democracy.”

[118] (declaració després de signar del decret de convocatòria de les eleccions al parlament, 2015) Totes les propostes, mentre respectin els drets humans, **són legítimes en democràcia** i són només els ciutadans lliures amb el seu vot els que poden fer-les possibles.

“So long as human rights are respected, all proposals are legitimate in a democracy and therefore only citizens who can freely use their votes would bring those proposals to life.”

[119] (Cap d'any 2014) Malgrat la prohibició i tota la maquinaria institucional de l'Estat en contra, molts milers de catalans van fer un exercici d'autoafirmació, de respecte, **de democràcia i de lliure opinió en llibertat. Un exercici de democràcia** que en ple segle XXI hauria de ser normalitat en lloc d'excepció, hauria de convidar al diàleg i a la negociació en lloc de querelles judicials.

“Despite the ban and all the State machinery against them, thousands of Catalans exercised self-affirmation, respect, democracy and free opinion. A demonstration of democracy, which, in the 21st century should have been be norm rather than the exception and should give way to dialogue and negotiation rather than legal wrangling.”

It is worth noting that Artur Mas also makes use of the the English word “democracy” when he addresses the international community, as well as Spanish “democracia”. Each of the cognates to the Catalan word are used twice. These instances are presented in 120 and 121 below.

[120] En **democràcia** debemos resolver los retos que nos depara el futuro con más democracia.

“In democracy we must address the issues that the future holds for us with more democracy.”

[121] **We stand for democracy**, dialogue and peace. We believe that political issues must be resolved by negotiation and civilised attitudes. And we know that democracy is the most civilised way to resolve difficulties between nations.

In short, throughout the speeches we studied, Artur Mas makes directly refers to democracy 25 times. By so doing, he suggests that Catalans have a very solid democratic tradition and that nationalism is a reflection of that tradition.

- **Spain is undemocratic to the core, thus the Catalans should leave the union.**

After having discussed Artur Mas's emphasis the support his movement enjoys from the majority of the population, we cannot move forward without bringing out the fact that while Artur Mas presents Catalonia as a democratic country, he also suggests Spain is undemocratic. According to him this situation makes it impossible for Spain and Catalonia to remain part of the same political entity, since both countries do not have the same democratic traditions. This is going to be discussed below in the light of some examples we selected in his speeches.

[122] (Debat de Política general, 2013) Hi hem arribat perquè la sentència del TC aixeca un mur en la relació entre la majoria de la societat catalana i l'Estat espanyol, i constitueix l'evidència plàstica que el famós “encaix” de Catalunya a l'Estat no és possible en els termes que el catalanisme plural, divers i transversal l'ha buscat històricament i fins a èpoques ben recents. Dit d'una altra manera, l'encaix solament és possible si Catalunya renuncia al seu projecte col·lectiu, si renuncia a ser un subjecte polític. Si acceptem ser un objecte, l'encaix és possible. Si volem ser un subjecte, amb personalitat i identitat pròpies, amb opcions d'oferir als set milions i mig de catalanes i de catalans un projecte propi, no subordinat, aleshores l'encaix no és possible, encara que l'haguem perseguit molt de temps.

“We've got to this point because the Constitutional Court's ruling raises a wall in the relationship between most Catalans and Spain, and is clear evidence that the famous "fit in" relationship between Catalonia and the State is not possible in terms that the plural, diverse and cross-sector catalan nationalism has sought historically and until very recently. In other words, the fit in relationship with Spain is only possible if Catalonia renounces its collective project, if it gives up the idea of becoming a political subject. If we accept to be an object then fitting in is possible. If you want to be a subject with its own personality and identity, with options to provide seven million and average of

Catalonia and the Catalan own project, unsubordinated, then fitting in is not possible, although we have long been pursuing it.”

In the above example, Artur Mas clearly illustrates what we said earlier. According to him, the Spanish state is totally against the democratic expression of the Catalan people as a whole, thus making it impossible for Catalonia to keep cohabitating with Spain. First of all, he makes sure he linguistically demonstrates that most Catalans are in favour of self-determination. As we demonstrated before, this can be achieved by the use of diction such as “majority” but also by using metonymy, personification or metaphor, in situations where Catalonia is no longer a mere administrative region, but a word which describes a nation that has feelings, and can act. After having presented the uniformity and homogeneity of the Catalan nation, he goes further to blame Spain for being unwilling to respect the people’s will. In this speech, Artur Mas is talking about the fact that Catalonia wanted to have a new fiscal deal with Spain. The aim of the deal was to enable the Catalans to have more over control over their finance and avoid Spanish interference. The signing of this new fiscal deal was presented by Catalan nationalists, including Mas, as the only condition to remain part of Spain, and, according to Mas, was backed by an overwhelming majority of Catalans. Unfortunately for him and his comrades, the deal was rejected by the Spanish Constitutional Court. Artur Mas therefore thinks that the ruling of Spain’s Constitutional Court rejecting the new fiscal deal which would give more economic freedom to Catalonia was tantamount to standing against the will of the majority of Catalans who voted for Mas, knowing very well what they wanted. That said, based on the topos of democracy and the underlying assumption that the people’s will should be respected, Spain can only be seen as an undemocratic country. Let’s consider another example.

[123] (declaració després convocar eleccions, 2015) Quan una majoria molt clara i rotunda d’un país vol exercir el seu dret a decidir, democràticament i pacíficament, i se li nega constantment aquest dret, impeding el diàleg i la negociació, i per tant l’acord i el pacte, significa que estem davant d’una situació excepcional, que requereix decisions també excepcionals.

“When a clear and overwhelming majority of a country wants to exercise their right to decide, democratically and peacefully, and they are consistently denied this right, preventing dialogue and negotiation, and thus impeding understanding and agreement, it means that we are facing an exceptional situation that requires exceptional decisions too.”

In the above example Artur Mas makes a contrast between the Catalan’s democratic approach to things and Spain’s undemocratic response. Here, he makes use of several linguistic strategies in order to pass on the message that Spain is undemocratic in its relationship with Catalonia. This is achieved by the use of positive characterisation, or the use of adverbs such as “democràticament” (democratically) and “pacíficament” (peacefully) to describe Catalonia’s actions. Moreover he also uses words like “dialèg” (dialogue) and “negociació” (negotiation) in a way that suggests that his people are always ready for dialogue. This positive self-presentation is followed by a subtle negative presentation of Spain. As a matter of fact, Spanish authorities’ response is not democratic and peaceful at all, and they do everything possible to impede meaningful dialogue and negotiation. The foregoing is therefore another confirmation of the fact that, according to Artur Mas, Spain is undemocratic. Therefore, if Spain and Catalonia have distinct political approaches, then the logical solution Catalan nationalists and Artur Mas suggest is breaking away from Spain in order to fully exercise their freedom and democratic tradition.

4.6.2 The people of Catalonia have the right to self-determination

In his speeches Artur Mas often makes use of the word “dret”, meaning “right” when trying to justify his struggle for independence. We suspect that such use clearly makes reference to human rights and most specifically to self-determination, which is an inalienable right for all nations. Therefore, by not respecting this, Spain is failing to observe the clauses of many international treaties the country has signed, which is another piece of evidence confirming the country’s undemocratic nature. Artur Mas’s argumentation here therefore heavily relies on to topos of Human Rights. To really decipher the use of the Human Rights topos, we

decided to have a closer look at the use of “dret”. That done, we realised that the word and its plural form are used 50 times throughout the speeches in Catalan. Moreover, we noted the fact that “right” is used three 3 times in the English part of the 2014 referendum decree speech. More specifically, the phrase “dret a decidir” (meaning “right to decide”) is used 25 times in the speeches. This clearly demonstrates that in his speeches, Artur Mas’s use of “dret” is closely tied to the idea that it should be fair for a nation like his to be given the possibility to decide on their future. It is therefore no wonder that the three times Mas makes use of the English word “right” they are followed by “to decide” (twice) and “of self-determination”, which is very close in meaning to the former. All the foregoing is illustrated in the examples below.

[124] (Debat de política general, 2013) **El dret a decidir** i la voluntat de fer una consulta són doncs majoritaris i transversals en aquest Parlament.

“The right to decide and willingness to go to the polls are therefore shared by the majority of members of this parliament.”

[125] (Declaració després decret de eleccions, 2015) Som una nació mil·lenària que té **dret a decidir** el seu futur, som una nació de persones lliures que ens hem guanyat el dret a decidir com volem ser i com volem governar-nos.

“We are thousand-year-old nation that has the right to decide its future, we are a nation of free people and we have earned the right to decide what we want to be and how we want to be governed.”

[126] (declaració després convocar eleccions, 2015) Quan una majoria molt clara i rotunda d’un país vol exercir el seu **dret a decidir**, democràticament i pacíficament, i se li nega constantment aquest dret, impeding el diàleg i la negociació, i per tant l’acord i el pacte, significa que estem davant d’una situació excepcional, que requereix decisions també excepcionals.

“When a clear and overwhelming majority of a country wants to exercise their right to decide, democratically and peacefully, and they are consistently denied this right, preventing dialogue and negotiation, and thus impeding understanding and agreement, it means that we are facing an exceptional situation that requires exceptional decisions too. “

[127] (declaració després convocar eleccions, 2015) As all the nations in the world, Catalonia has **the right to decide** its political future. This is exactly the message that broad majorities of the catalan people send to the world every year since 2012, by organising huge [sic] peaceful demonstrations in the streets of Barcelona, our main town.

Two years ago, I called early elections. My purpose was to know how large the social majority in favour of the **right of selfdetermination** was. The turnout was the highest in three decades. The outcome was clear: more than two-thirds of the members of Parliament were in favour of the right to decide.

Therefore, in the light of the above examples, what transpires from Artur Mas's speeches is that even though the Law of Spain does not allow Catalonia to push for its independence, nothing can stop them from pursuing that goal, because it is a legitimate aspiration and a fundamental right as stipulated by the International Declaration of Human Rights.

So far, we have seen some strategies used by Artur Mas to justify the Catalan struggle for independence. First of all, we discussed the use of the topoi of statistics/numbers and democracy, which Artur Mas resorts to. Then we went further to discuss the topos of human rights which goes hand-in-glove with that of democracy. As a matter of fact, if a country is democratic, then it will do everything possible to abide by the principles governing the respect of human rights. According to Artur Mas, Spain is unfortunately not a democratic country, and this is why Spanish authorities are strongly against the expression of the Catalans' right to self-determination. The foregoing notwithstanding, Artur Mas wants to tell the world that according to international principles opposing the desire of a nation to decide its future is a gross violation of Human Rights. That said, Artur Mas gives more reasons in order to justify the need for Catalonia to be independent. The next reason we shall be discussing falls within the framework of economy.

4.6.3 Catalonia is exploited by Spain

According to Artur Mas, the treatment his territory receives from Spain, especially as concerns to the distribution of economic charges is totally unfair. As a reminder, we earlier discussed the fact that Artur Mas often praises Catalonia for its strategic position as well as for the good state of its economy. Though Artur Mas's praise of Catalonia may be exaggerated, it is clear that Catalonia has been able to resist the hard times the Spanish

economy has been undergoing, as evidenced by figures which can be seen in Artur Mas's speeches. Given the fact that Catalonia was not hit as hard as other parts of Spain, Artur Mas suggests that its territory started paying a heavy price in order to keep the Spanish economy above the red line.

Artur Mas's argument is based on the topoi of comparison, statistics, but also those of finance, social welfare and usefulness. These argumentative strategies are there to prove those who may still have doubts that Catalonia has a very vibrant and strong economy, actually stronger than the rest of Spain and that independence will be economically profitable for the people. This is clearly seen in the examples below:

[128] (sopart BCE, 2012) Els ho diu el President d'un territori que no viu del subsidi sinó de l'esforç. **Que amb el 16% de la població espanyola representa el 19% del PIB, el 30% del comerç exterior espanyol, que concentra el 22% de les empreses innovadores d'Espanya i que representa l'1% de la producció científica mundial.**

"This is from the President of a territory not living on subsidy but rather from effort. A territory which with 16% of the Spanish population represents 19% of its GDP, 30% of Spanish foreign trade, a territory which accounts for 22% of innovative companies in Spain and represents 1% scientific production worldwide."

[129] (Foro Nueva economia, 2012) Nosaltres que **representem el 35% de la despesa pública i sense les pensions el 50%**, se'ns demana tot l'esforç i els altres es queden tot i no reparteixen res. Això és així i funciona d'aquesta forma a Espanya que apareix com a Estat compost on s'hauria de fer un esforç comú per repartir les carregues i sacrificis de manera equitativa i equilibrada.

"We, who represent 35% of public spending and 50% without pensions, are asked to make all efforts while the others keep everything and offer nothing. This is true and it works this way in Spain, which is a plural state where joint efforts should be made and where burdens and sacrifices need to be balanced or equitably distributed."

After having mentioned the fact that Catalonia's vibrant economy has been really exploited by Spain, he insists on the fact that this exploitation is unfair, because the people of Catalonia had to make more efforts than the rest of Spain, only to see their standards of living drop. In addition to statistics which he really values, Artur Mas also makes use here of predication strategies such as characterisation as well as comparison to make his point clear. For instance, examples 130 and 131 below illustrates the fact that Mas uses the words "superior" and

“inferior” as well as “just” to describe the dichotomy between the economic burden his territory has been carrying despite its very good situation as compared to other regions, to which much was not demanded. He also makes use of rhetorical questions to make his audience get the extent to which the situation his territory is facing is absurd.

[130] (debat de política general, 2013) Catalunya ha fet un esforç proporcionalment **molt superior** al que li correspondria tenint en compte el pes que té la seva despesa en el conjunt de la despesa de totes les administracions públiques, i també si s’analitza només a nivell de les comunitats autònomes. En efecte, entre els anys 2010 i 2012, Catalunya, que representa **el 17,5% de tota la despesa que fan les autonomies, ha fet un 24,33% de tot l’ajust autonòmic.**

“Catalonia has made an effort proportionally much higher than would apply to it, given the weight of its spending in the overall expenditure of all public administrations, and also if we stop our analysis at the level of the autonomous communities. Indeed, between 2010 and 2012, Catalonia, which represents 17.5% of all Autonomous regions’ spending, completed 24.33% of all regional adjustment.”

[131] (foro nueva economía, 2012) La meua teoria, que li he expressat al president Rajoy, és que l’esforç del Govern central quant a reducció de despesa és **inferior** al que s’obliga a fer als governs autonòmics en general i al de Catalunya en particular [...] Això hem d’intentar equilibrar-ho perquè, no només no és just, sinó que provoca una sèrie de tensions sobre els serveis bàsics per a la ciutadania que amb un repartiment més just al conjunt de l’Estat espanyol es podrien evitar.

“My theory, which I have expressed to President Rajoy, is that the central government’s efforts in terms of reducing cost is lower than that of regional governments in general and of Catalonia in particular [...] so we should try to balance it, because it is not only unfair, but it also leads to a lot of tension about basic services for citizens that a more equitable distribution in the whole Spain could help avoid.”

[132] (Foro Nueva economía, 2012) Però, com pot ser que un país com **Catalunya amb un dèficit fiscal de 16.000 M€ amb l’estat cada any, perquè aporta molt més del que rep**, hagi d’estar en una situació d’haver de demanar recursos per poder refinançar els deute acumulats i que s’han de refinançar. Això no té cap sentit. Que tinguin dificultats els que no generen suficient recursos per poder-ho fer té sentit, però que les dificultats les tinguin els que generen els recursos i amb molta diferència no té cap sentit.

“But how should a country like Catalonia with a fiscal deficit of 16 billion towards the State each year because it provides much more than receives be in a position of having to ask for resources to refinance accumulated debt which obviously needs refunding. This makes no sense. That those who do not generate sufficient resources have difficulties to do so would make sense, but that the difficulties should be faced by those who by far generate resources makes no sense.”

After having demonstrated that the treatment Catalonia receives from Spain is unfair, Artur mas suggests that this situation is even fostered by Spain in order to enforce Catalonia's dependence on Spain. Therefore, since Catalonia is gaining nothing from the union with Spain, but rather losing not only its financial resources, but also its autonomy, Artur Mas goes forward to state that independence is the way forward as it will enable the people of Catalonia to manage their own resources and definitely live better. This argument strongly resorts to the topoi of usefulness and finance as evidenced in examples 133 and 134 below.

[133] (Diada nacional de Catalunya, 2012) El pacte fiscal és l'exemple més evident i socialment més transversal d'aquesta transició nacional. **Catalunya té prou energia interna per viure millor del que viu. Produïm prou recursos i prou riquesa per viure millor del que vivim.** No hi ha batalla més urgent ni repte més important que la sobirania fiscal del nostre país. I més en aquests moments.

"The fiscal agreement is the most obvious example of this cross-sector national transition. Catalonia has enough internal energy to live better than it does. We produce enough resources and enough wealth to live better than we live. There is no battle which is more urgent or challenge which is more important than the fiscal sovereignty of our country. And more so at this time."

[134] (Diada nacional de Catalunya, 2012) És per això que la sobirania fiscal és ahora un acte d'afirmació nacional i un acte d'afirmació social, en la mesura que els principals perjudicats pel fet de no tenir-la són les persones individuals i concretes, amb noms i cognoms. **Aspirem a més com a nació perquè aspirem a més com a societat, i a l'inrevés.**

"That is why fiscal sovereignty is at once an act of national affirmation and an act of social affirmation, since most of the people affected by the lack of it are specific individuals, with names and surnames. We aspire to more as a nation because we aspire to more as a society, and vice versa."

Throughout this chapter, we attempted to identify the different strategies Artur mas made use of in his discursive struggle for independence. Therefore, following Wodak et al.'s classification, we were able to identify five major sets of strategies, namely singularisation, autonomisation, unification and cohesivation, assimilation, inclusion and continuation and finally justification strategies. Singularization strategies are used by Artur Mas to present Catalonia and its people as special, or better still as unique. These strategies include the use of positive attributes, which are mostly underpinned by the topoi of comparison and idyllic

place, in order to set Catalonia apart and present the territory as the best place one can ever find on earth. Autonomisation strategies, which may be seen as a category of singularisation strategies, are achieved through nomination and predication strategies as well as intensification and mitigation strategies. More specifically, we noted the use of referential linguistic items such as mutually exclusive toponyms and toponymic adjectives, as well as the some topographic diction (situating Catalonia in Southern Europe rather than in northern Spain) which set Catalonia apart. As their name suggests, autonomisation strategies aim at telling the world that Catalonia is not Spain, but a distinct country with well defined boundaries. When it comes to unification and cohesivation strategies, they are used by Artur Mas in order to rally the people of Catalonia behind the independence struggle and include references to national symbols, be they people or things, as well as deontic modality. These strategies go hand in glove with assimilation, inclusion and continuation strategies. We found that assimilation and inclusion strategies were aimed at presenting Catalonia as a homogeneous group of people, thus making it clear that it can be considered as a fully fledged nation. These strategies are evidenced by nomination and predication strategies like the metaphorical (or metonymical) personification of Catalonia as well as the use of lexemes suggesting perfect unity between the various social components of the territory. In addition to the foregoing, Artur Mas, also makes sure he tells his readers that the independence struggle he is spearheading is not a creation of his but legacy from predecessors. This accounts for what we called continuation strategies. In fact, by making references to historical events and figures, as well as by using ordinal numbers to describe his term at the presidency of Catalonia, Artur Mas wants to demonstrate that Catalonia has since its foundation aimed at autonomy and independence. This is why he also resorts to the chain and gear metaphors to describe this desire which was transmitted from one generation to another. Finally, we also studied the strategies used by Artur Mas to justify his struggle. These strategies are based on

topoi such as the people's rule and Human Rights. As a matter of fact, Artur Mas often makes use of statistics to prove that the independence struggle is backed by the majority of Catalans. By so doing, he sends to Spanish authorities and the international community an indirect message whose essence is that if they are really democratic, they should respect the people's right to self-determination, which is a fundamental human right. Artur Mas also resorts to economy to justify his desire to break-away from Spain. He also uses statistics to demonstrate that Catalonia's economic well being is exploited by Spain, at the expense of the Catalan people. Therefore, Artur Mas's only solution for Catalans to be prosperous is a greater financial autonomy or outright independence.

The strategies used by Artur Mas are not different from many identity construction strategies used around the world, this is why they perfectly fit into Wodak *et al.*'s classification. In the following chapter, we shall have a look at how identity construction is carried out in Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse. Based on the hypothesis we made at the beginning of this research endeavour, Southern Cameroonian independence activists would make use of the same sets of strategies identified in Artur Mas's speeches. Nevertheless, there would be some differences at the level of the specific linguistics resources or topoi used in Cameroon. Such differences would be the result of the distinct cultural and political backgrounds in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons.

Chapter 5: Results and discussion: Southern Cameroons

This chapter is the continuation of Chapter 4, which dealt with presenting the results of the research endeavour which led to this write up. As a reminder, this Ph.D thesis sets out to discuss the discursive construction of national identity in two sub-states, namely Catalonia (Spain) and Southern Cameroons (Cameroon). So far, we have been able to identify the strategies Artur Mas resorts to in order to push for the independence of (or at least a greater autonomy for) his territory. This chapter will therefore be devoted to Southern Cameroons and will have the same aim as the previous chapter. Nevertheless, it is worth reminding that, given the scarcity of written nationalist discourse in Southern Cameroons, we could not devote this research work to only one politician and genre as we did with Catalonia. Therefore, speeches delivered by various politicians are discussed here, and in addition to the said speeches we also decided to analyse some open letters dealing with the same issue. The choice to include open letters in our analysis spans from the fact that, as we mentioned earlier, there are not a lot of speeches devoted to the Southern Cameroonian independence struggle. What's more, the thirteen speeches we were able to collect are shorter, when compared to the ones delivered by Artur Mas. Therefore, by adding open letters to our analysis, we hope the size of the pieces of discourse from Southern Cameroon will match that of Catalonia.

As the speeches from Catalonia, nationalist pieces of discourse from Southern Cameroonian activists can be analysed using Wodak *et al.*'s classification (and complemented by Chilton's Discourse Space Model), given the fact that they also evidence the use of singularisation strategies, unification and cohesivation strategies, autonomisation strategies, assimilation, inclusion and continuation strategies, as well as justification strategies. Nevertheless, though this will be lengthily discussed in chapter 6, it is worth noting that Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders do not cherish the same types of strategies or sub-strategies,

therefore, this chapter is not going to be the perfect mirror image of Chapter 4. Instead, the As opposed to the previous chapter which discussed Catalonia, this chapter is fully devoted to Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse, and is geared towards identifying the discursive strategies used by Southern Cameroonian independence activists to construct a separate nation and push for its independence. As in Catalonia, we found instances of five sets of identity-construction strategies, namely singularization, autonomisation, unification and cohesivation, assimilation, inclusion and continuation, as well as justification. Table 5.1. summarises these strategies and gives us an idea of this chapter's overall structure.

| Strategies | Objectives | Discursive strategies | Linguistics means |
|--|---|---|---|
| Singularisation | Idealise historical Southern Cameroons | Topos of idyllic place, topos of comparison, history as a teacher topos | Past references, storytelling, comparison between then and now, positive characterisation |
| Autonomisation | Present Southern Cameroons as a separate entity | Nomination and predication, foregrounding/ backgrounding | Toponyms, demonyms, borrowing, prepositional phrases, metaphor |
| Unification and cohesivation | Emphasize unifying factors and encourage and enjoin Southern Cameroonians to unite | Nomination: in-group/out-group separation, topos of common language and culture, topos of threat, topos of usefulness | Lexemes referring to British colonialism, deontic verbs, imperatives, intertextuality, allegory, lexemes expressing threat |
| Assimilation, inclusion and continuation | Present Southern Cameroons as a homogeneous entity, argue that the struggle for liberation was passed on by earlier generations | Nomination and predication: in-group/out-group separation, train/boat topoi, topos of history as a teacher, topos of continuation | Lexemex expressing unity or shared trouble, personal pronouns and possessives, metaphor, intertextuality, reference to historical figures |
| Justification | Justify the fight for independence | Nomination and predication, Topos of legality, topos of comparison, topos of human rights, topos of religion, topos of | Lexemes referring to law, intertextuality, storytelling, linguistic categorisation, examples, statistics, reference to divinity |

| | | | |
|--|--|--------|--|
| | | threat | |
|--|--|--------|--|

Table 5.1 Justification strategies in Southern Cameroons discourse

5.1 Singularisation strategies: Idealisation of historical Southern Cameroons

“Your gendarmes and soldiers chasing the escapees to arrest and kill stopped across the international border. Our government gave scholarships to your children for studies abroad and your people who took refuge freely prospered. British Southern Cameroons was your USA, a land of freedom and abounding opportunities.”

As a reminder, singularisation strategies are used by nationalist leaders to present their territory as a special or, better still, an idyllic place. These strategies are often underpinned by the topos of comparison, *locus amoenus* and *locus terribilis* or stylistic devices such as metaphor. Moreover, they can be achieved by the use of lexemes expressing positive characterisation, praise or reverence. When it comes to Southern Cameroons, the pieces of discourse we studied revealed a limited use of these strategies. As a matter of fact, when compared to other strategies we realised that the different leaders whose speeches were studied don't often bother to say positive things about their territory. The scarce instances of singularization are aimed at praising the democratic, peaceful and prosperous nature of Southern Cameroons when it was still under the British rule, while also upholding the territory's Anglo-Saxon heritage. Thus, in Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse, singularization strategies are mainly historical, that is, related to the past rather than to the present. It is by singling out a specific part of their history that the proponents of the Southern Cameroonian nation can effectively construct their distinct identity. The praise and idealisation of British rule in Southern Cameroons comes from the fact that the people of Southern Cameroons and Cameroon often have the same ethnic cultures and languages, and before the British and French rules, both territories were part of the German protectorate of Kamerun. It is therefore no surprise that the Anglo-Saxon culture of Southern Cameroons, as well as its legal and educational systems, is often emphasized and praised in a way that suggests it is seen as an elevated or superior type of culture, an asset which should be preserved. Such praise is achieved through the use of lexemes with positive connotations,

storytelling and comparison between colonial and present-day Southern Cameroons³². Though the idealisation of the British domination of Southern cameroons is understandable in the Cameroonian context, it would surprise many Africans, considering the fact that Pan-Africanism is a growing trend, and nations are rather striving to move away from colonial influence and reconcile with their ancestral heritage.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|---|--|---|---|
| Idealisation of historical Southern Cameroons | History as a teacher topos, topos of idyllic place, topos of comparison | Constant references to alleged past glory and its evidence, positive characterization | British Southern Cameroons was your USA, a land of freedom and abounding opportunities, good old days of British Southern Cameroons, cheaper and more efficient |

Table 5.2 Singularisation strategies

Let's consider the following examples:

[1] (Ngala Nfor 2014, End-of-year message) **The Common Law and the Anglo-Saxon educational system and heritage** constitute the soul of the British Southern Cameroons nation which la Republique du Cameroun for its prestige and grandeur cannot put to the torch.

[2] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd Anniversary speech) To the people of la Republique du Cameroun, we reaffirm our position. We do not hate you! We did not hate you when your country was engulfed in a civil war. In demonstration of African brotherhood and God's love, our fathers and mothers opened their doors to those who fled and sought sanctuary.

Your gendarmes and soldiers chasing the escapees to arrest and kill stopped across the international border. Our government gave scholarships to your children for studies abroad and your people who took refuge freely prospered. **British Southern Cameroons was your USA, a land of freedom and abounding opportunities.**

[3] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) Recalling that the existence of the South West as opposed to the North West is la Republique du Cameroun colonial product of divide and rule, we are reminded by our history that in the **good old days of British Southern Cameroons** all our Natural Rulers, as fathers of the nation, spoke with one voice in the interest of their people and their God-given heritage.

³² See Table 5.2.

[4] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) Know that your country, British Southern Cameroons

1. Had its Government in Buea as from 1954. But President Ahmadou Ahidjo backed by the army, to annex British Southern Cameroons, abolished it by Presidential decree.

2. **Had one international airport**, Tiko, and three inland airports, namely, Bessong Abang, Bali and Weh. There were also two sea ports, Victoria and Tiko and the Mamfe river port. These have all been closed to make British Southern Cameroons a landlocked country with no tarred roads completely dependent on la Republique du Cameroun air and sea ports.

3. **Had its own electricity corporation** – PowerCam which was **cheaper and more efficient** but Yaoundé closed it and imposed SONEL on us which is more expensive, and inefficient.

4. **Had Santa Coffee Estate**, Government Printing Press, Development Agency, Produce Marketing Board, CamBank, Cameroon Air Transport (CAT) etc. which were all closed down to cripple British Southern Cameroons financially and economically and keep it underdeveloped and subservient. Yet the greater wealth is from our land.

[5] (Ngala Nfor 2014, End-of-year message) To la Republique du Cameroun, the Senate, which has taken President Paul Biya almost twenty years to create, is a great achievement to jubilate. **By constitutional development of 1957, in 1958 Southern Cameroons had an upper house of parliament.**

Example 1 above clearly illustrates what we talked about earlier in this write-up. For activists from Southern Cameroons, being part of the anglo-saxon heritage is what singles them out and makes them a special people. To understand this singularisation strategy, it is very important to have a look at the current international context. It goes without saying that given the growing influence of the United States of America since the end of World War II, the English language has become the international language *par excellence*, and the anglo-saxon culture a very well cherished culture around the world. This situation therefore pushes Ngala Nfor to built his argument on the fact that the English Common Law and Anglo-Saxon education constitute the core of their identity, and that the government of Cameroon's alleged attempts to destroy those elements are evidence of the desire to annihilate what makes Southern Cameroons special. Ngala Nfor's argument can be seen as a fallacy if we consider the various ethnic identities making up Southern Cameroons, but again what he means is that the Anglo-Saxon nature of Southern Cameroons is what makes that territory distinct from (and better than) the rest of Cameroon.

As we mentioned earlier, singularization strategies are often related to the British colonial administration of Southern Cameroons, as this is the root cause of the difference between Southern Cameroons and former French Cameroons. Therefore, as examples 2, 3 and 4 suggest, before reunification with French Cameroons, Southern Cameroons was a land of peace, unity, cohesion and democracy, a safe refuge for French Cameroonians when they were persecuted by their government. What's more, British Southern Cameroons was a prosperous country with lots of infrastructure and wealth. As Ngala Nfor puts it in example 2, going to British Southern Cameroons was just like travelling to the United States of America, where one would definitely see one's dreams come true. Reading Ngala Nfor therefore gives the feeling that British Southern Cameroons was an idyllic place and that everything was perfect there, as opposed to French Cameroons where citizens were oppressed by forces of law and order and had no choice but to flee to Southern Cameroons in order to find greener pastures. This is a very clear contrast between both territories which fall within the *locus amoenus* and *locus terribilis* topoi. Southern Cameroons and its people would therefore return to their past glory if they break away from Cameroon. In fact, as examples 3 and 4 clearly bring out, it is reunification with French Cameroon that wreaked havoc in Southern Cameroons and led to the problems its people are facing. All infrastructure inherited from the British was destroyed by the French-speaking majority, and Southern Cameroons has been left in a state of ruins. The foregoing notwithstanding, the territory still has a lot of assets will get back to economic prosperity once it becomes independent. In addition, Southern Cameroon's democratic tradition which was destroyed by the French-speaking majority will be restored.

To sum up, talking about singularisation strategies in Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse is not the same as talking about the same strategies in Catalan speeches. First of all, singularisation strategies are not the mostly used strategies in Southern Cameroonian pieces

of discourse, and even when they are used, they always aim at singling out a past period and its present relics. We could therefore name the singularisation strategies used in Southern Cameroons historical singularisation as they mostly relate to the past. These historical singularisation strategies which are summarised in Table 5.1. are very close to autonomisation strategies which are discussed under the following heading.

5.2 Autonomisation strategies

“Which indeed, could never happen because the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun are two very distinct Nations or Countries, as confirmed by President Paul Biya in his end of year speech on 31/12/2010 televised over the Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV)”

Southern Cameroonian nationalists make use of autonomisation strategies to portray the fact that their country is distinct, different from the rest of Cameroon. Autonomisation strategies here are characterised by the use of nomination and predication strategies which rely on the use of toponyms, namely “British Southern Cameroons”, “la République du Cameroun”, “Ambazonia”, as well as metaphors and prepositional phrases.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|---|--|--|---|
| Southern Cameroons is not part of “la république du Cameroun” | Nomination strategies, foregrounding/backgrounding (southern Cameroons Vs la république) | Toponyms | British Southern Cameroons, la république du cameroun |
| Southern Cameroonians are not citizens of “la république” | Nomination and predication | Demonyms, prepositional phrases, metaphor, | Southern Cameroonian, Ambazonian, citizens of la république du Cameroun, people of la république du Cameroun, Yaoundé |

Table 5.3. Autonomisation strategies

5.2.1 Southern Cameroons (or Ambazonia) is not part of “la république du Cameroun”

Toponyms and demonyms are very important in national identity construction, as it goes without saying that for a country to come to life, it must have a name. Though Southern Cameroonian nationalists all aim at independence or greater autonomy from the rest of Cameroon, they follow two distinct influences when it comes to what their territory should be called. These influences are based on whether the discourse producers are operating under the banner of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) or the Ambazonian Restoration Council. In fact while SCNC activists stick to the use of “Southern Cameroons” and “La république du Cameroun”, Fon Gorji Dinka, that is, the leader of the Ambazonian Restoration Council prefers to use “Ambazonia”, which is a name he coined so as to move away from the use of Cameroon in his speeches and therefore avoid any confusion the use of “cameroon” in any of its forms could lead to.

- **Southern Cameroons Vs La république du Cameroun**

As we can guess from their spelling, these phrases are written in the two languages that actually differentiate between the two territories at stake here. Southern Cameroons refers to the part of the German Protectorate of Kamerun which was administered by the British (as part of Eastern Nigeria until 1961). This name always refers back to the colonial period or to Anglophone nationalism and is never used in today’s official parlance in Cameroon. That is why it is very often preceded by the adjective “British”, which makes it clear that the territory being talked about is not the southern part of the Cameroon state as it is known nowadays, but rather the Southern part of the British-administered territory of Cameroons. Though it was mentioned in Chapter 3, it may be worth noting that the British part of the former German protectorate of Kamerun was made up of two discontinuous sections, namely Northern Cameroons (that voted for integration into Nigeria) and Southern Cameroons.

Therefore, when one has a look at the political map of present-day Cameroon, Southern Cameroons is actually found in the West of the country. This is why during the ten-year federation that followed its reunification with French Cameroun, Southern Cameroons was called the West Cameroon State.

When it comes to “la République du Cameroun”, we can say that it is the official French appellation of Cameroon, which is made up of former British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroun. Nevertheless, according to SCNC (Southern Cameroons National Council) activists, the name “la République du Cameroun” can in no way include British Southern Cameroons. They argue that when the French-administered territory became independent in 1960, it took the name “la République du Cameroun”, and that was a year before Southern Cameroons gained its independence by joining the so-called “la République du Cameroun”. In other words, prior to the 1961 reunification, Southern Cameroons and “la République du Cameroun” were two distinct political entities, one still being under colonial rule. Therefore, Southern Cameroonian autonomy and separation is achieved by making a distinct use of both phrases, and sticking to French when referring to the Francophone-dominated territory of Cameroon in order to avoid any confusion. Even the few times “the Republic of Cameroon”, which is the official English appellation of present-day Cameroon, is used, it never includes Southern Cameroons. In other words, to SCNC activists, Southern Cameroons is not a part of the Republic of Cameroon, whose real appellation is “la République du Cameroun”.

With regard to statistics, we realised that “Southern Cameroons” is used almost twice as much as “la République du Cameroun” and in none of the uses we found, these categories overlap. They are always mutually exclusive. More specifically, “Southern Cameroons” is

used 232 times while “la République du Cameroun”³³ is used 120 times. “La République du Cameroun” is shortened as “la République” on four different occasions. To the 232 times “Southern Cameroons” is used, we can add 13 tokens of “Southern Cameroon” which is definitely a spelling mistake when taking into account the fact that the pluralisation of Cameroon is the norm when referring to the former British territory. The above statistics are summarised in Chart 5.1.

This overwhelming use of “Southern Cameroons” is evidence of Anglophone nationalists’ desire to assert and present their country to the world, not as a region of Cameroon, but a fully fledged country. They do everything possible to emphasize their territory while avoiding any situation that might create confusion between the territory they are claiming and the alleged occupier. Out of the 232 times “Southern Cameroons” is used, it is preceded by the adjective “British” 102 times. This demonstrates that autonomisation strategies are built on the fact that Southern Cameroons was a British-administered territory while “la République du Cameroun” was French administered.

³³ There are three instances where the phrase is spelt as “la République du Cameroon”, but we can say with a high degree of certainty that this is a spelling mistake as authors would not use English and French in the same phrase. Again, the overwhelming use of “la republique du cameroun” just confirms this.

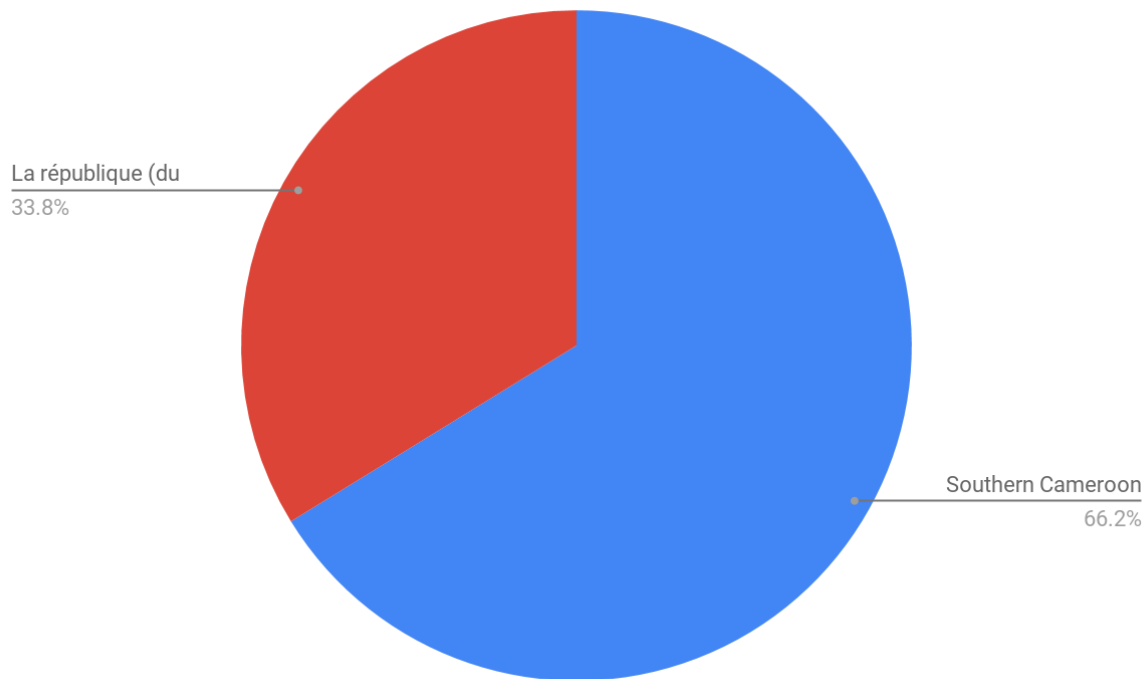


Chart 5.1. Uses of Southern Cameroons and “la République du Cameroun”

The mutual exclusivity between Southern Cameroons and “la République du Cameroun” in SCNC parlance is clearly exemplified below.

[6] (Chief Ayamba 2010, 49th anniversary speech) This means that **the British simply transferred their authority over British Southern Cameroons to la République du Cameroun** which has for 49 years exercised iron fist rule over our peace-loving people.

[7] (Ambeazieh 2011, letter to Ban Ki Moon) The Council: Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement hereby reminds the international Community — The United Nations and the Southern Cameroonians that, **the Southern Cameroons and La République du Cameroun are two very distinct Entities** — Nations, and there is No Legal Union Treaty between them except the very illegal annexation of the Southern Cameroons by La République du Cameroun.

[8] (Ngala Nfor 2012, Open letter to Marafa) Why did your Government treat the **Southern Cameroons Vs la République du Cameroun** Case before the African Commission as a guarded secret to the extent that even your powerless parliament has never been informed of let alone debated the matter?

[9] (Ngala Nfor 2013, End-of-year message) The overwhelming result of these conferences and debates was a shocking boomerang effect as they all concluded that **there was no UNION TREATY between la République du Cameroun and British Southern Cameroons** [...] HE Bharat Joshi, the UK High Commissioner to la République in his monthly Press Conference of June 2013 in Yaoundé, stated

categorically that he “has never seen any official document that binds the former British Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun.

[10] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd anniversary speech) British Southern Cameroons is ours and no foreign laws, decrees, edicts; constitutions and guns will dispossess us of our rightful heritage. To surrender to foreign domination and **alien rule of la Republique du Cameroun** is perpetual slavery of body and soul from cradle to the grave not just of the living but of generations yet unborn.

[11] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd anniversary speech) **Under la Republique du Cameroun dictatorial corrupt rule of the few Octogenarians, your future has been sealed.** In the New British Southern Cameroons with a federal system your place to shape your destiny, participate in governance and attain your full potential is guaranteed for this will be, to paraphrase President Abraham Lincoln, the government of the people, by the people and for the people.

[12] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 51st Anniversary speech) As we recognise and respect La Republique du Cameroun’s inherent right to sovereignty within its inherited territory under international law, **so must La Republique du Cameroun respect and treat British Southern Cameroons.**

[13] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Open letter to the elite) **British Southern Cameroons** has been balkanized into two provinces and to move from one to the other you must traverse two provinces of **la Republique du Cameroun.**

[14] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) You are stateless and have no future because your Fatherland, God’s given heritage, **British Southern Cameroons, has been annexed and colonially occupied by la Republique du Cameroun.**

To conclude, we can say that the nomination strategy used by activists from the Southern Cameroons National Council are highly based on historical events, most especially the distinct British and French colonial experiences of the territories at stake here and the official languages that came as a result of those colonial histories. Therefore, using “La republique du Cameroun” when talking about the current state of Cameroon is tantamount to stating that they have no authority over Southern Cameroons, since the latter was (and is still) a distinct entity.

Given that there is a clear difference between Southern Cameroons and *la Republique du Cameroun*, this has consequences in the use of toponymic adjectives that derive from these words. Nevertheless, before proceeding to the study of toponymic adjectives, it is worthy to

talk about the other appellation which is currently gaining usage amongst Anglophone nationalists in Cameroon.

- **Ambazonia**

Faced with the need to completely differentiate their territory from French-speaking Cameroon, some Anglophone nationalists decided to go beyond the use of Cameroon itself, be it spelt in English or in French. This came after the full official name of Cameroon was changed from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. This move was heavily criticized by Anglophone nationalists, who saw this as a way of obliterating the fact that two distinct entities had come together to form the then United Republic of Cameroon. Therefore, a group of activists headed by Fon Gorji Dinka decided to coin a word for the territory and therefore totally separate from the Cameroon appellation which may lead to a lot of confusion. According to information found on the official Website of the Republic of Ambazonia (or the Ambazonian Restoration Council), the name “Ambazonia” means the area spanning from Amba Bay (in the Southern Part of the territory) to the hinterlands. The website also confirms that this word was coined in order to avoid confusion between Southern Cameroons or West Cameroons with the South or West Provinces of Cameroon.³⁴ Quantitatively, this appellation appears 44 times throughout our text and is Gorji Dinka’s preferred name for Southern Cameroons. The use of “Ambazonia” clearly separates Southern Cameroons from French-speaking Cameroon. Therefore Gorji Dinka does not need to move from French to English appellations in order to distinguish both territories. As a matter of fact, he may even use the English “Cameroon” or “The Republic of Cameroon” which always excludes Ambazonia, as illustrated examples 15 to 21 below:

[15] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Address to all Ambazonians) Today, things are happening in a positive direction which requires my addressing you not only in a capacity as the Spearhead of the struggle **to liberate Ambazonia from Cameroon’s occupation**, but

³⁴ More on this at http://www.ambazonia.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=207&Itemid=34

more importantly, as that proto-Ambazonian who just like you, still longs for our God's given right to live freely in peace and harmony in our country which **we can no longer wait to differentiate from Cameroon by calling it Ambazonia!**

[16] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Address to all Ambazonians) General Abacha initiated quiet diplomacy to get Paul Biya to arrange a peaceful withdrawal of Cameroon from Ambazonia. But French oil firms in Cameroon feared that this would deprive them of the oil concessions **Cameroon had given them over Ambazonian oil fields**. So they prevented Biya from going along this line.

[17] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Address to the nation) The judgment of the Cameroon Military Tribunal that **Ambazonia is not part of the Republic of Cameroon** and therefore the call for Cameroon to get out of Ambazonia is a call for enforcement of law 84/01

[18] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Address to all Ambazonians) Today, I am happy to note that the **youths of Ambazonia**, both at home and in the Diaspora are beginning to invoke their independence of their minds. They have recognized the value of solely focusing on the actual tasks of seeking the enforcement of the law and judgments, both domestic and international which demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Republic of Cameroon to the east of the international boundary line from Lake Chad to the Mongo River Estuary.

[19] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Silver Jubilee speech) On this day the Parliament of the Republic of Cameroon adopted the call by the President of Cameroon Parliament Hon Solomon Tandeng Muna for a conference **where Cameroon and Ambazonia would meet on the basis of mutual sovereign equality** as they did at the Fouban Conference in 1961.

[20] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Silver jubilee speech) ...this law has been fortified by subsequent legal measures which demand of **the President of the Republic of Cameroon to withdraw from Ambazonia totally and unconditionally**.

[21] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Silver Jubilee Speech) ...the United Nations recognizes the entity called **Republic of Cameroon as French Cameroon while Ambazonia is English Cameroon and is a sovereign nation distinct from French Cameroon**.

Gorji Dinka's use of "Ambazonia" can be said to be a very effective strategy aimed at autonomising Southern Cameroons. Though this strategy differs from that of SCNC activists (Ngala Nfor and Chief Ayamba), their aims are not any different. Though until very recently the use of "Southern Cameroons" was more widespread than that of "Ambazonia", we can conclude, based on our observation of events in Cameroon, that "Ambazonia" has been gaining popularity and can be said to enjoy almost the same amount of use as "Southern Cameroons".

5.2.2 Southern Cameroonians (Ambazonians) are not citizens of “la république”

By investigating the use of toponymic adjectives such as “southern Cameroonian”, “Cameroonian” or “Ambazonian” one can gauge the extent to which autonomisation is achieved through the use of demonyms.

- **Southern Cameroonian and Cameroonian**

To begin with, our quantitative study of the use of “Cameroonian” revealed that its singular and plural forms appear in a total of 104 times throughout our corpus. All but 4 (four) of these 104 uses are directly preceded by “Southern” and definitely refer to the people of Southern Cameroons. Let’s consider the four times “cameroon(s)” stands alone.

[22] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention Speech) Their stubborn tenacity in the face of brutality from the **Cameroonian gendarmes** speaks to the audacity of our resolve in achieving this noble goal of liberation.

[23] (Ambeazieh 2011, letter to Ban Ki Moon)...one of the former Ministers of La Republique du Cameroun told him that "Mr. John Fru Ndi, You are wasting Your time. An Anglophone can never be the Head of State of Cameroon (La Republique du Cameroun) and that they, the citizens of La Republique du Cameroun will always sit and decide on behalf of all **Cameroonians**."

[24] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Address to all Ambazonians) You as that Ambazonian, have come to realized that you are not to be held hostage to any idea, factions, groups, entities, political movements, and political parties, etc. if there is a slight chance that even by appearance, it has something to do with the offending **Cameroonian state**.

[25] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Silver Jubilee Speech) In this connection our attention is drawn to inimical activities what is called the anglofool; believing that he is a **Cameroonian**, he sleeps at night thinking only of what to do to exhibit his zeal of loyalty to the Yaounde clique of rogues, which is pillaging and looting the Ambazonian oil wealth, which accounts for 97 % of the external revenue of Cameroon.

From these examples above, we can clearly see that “Cameroonian” is used by Gorji Dinka to refer to citizens of the French-Speaking part of the territory as a whole, as we can see in excerpts 24 and 25. In the two other examples where the word is used it appears that Ambeazieh is quoting someone (Examples 23) while Ozughen uses the word to describe state organs, which in this case are the Gendarmes (Example 22). That said, it goes without saying

that Southern Cameroonian activists shy away from using “Cameroonian” alone. This is again a strategy to avoid any confusion that may arise when using that term. SCNC activists thus resort to various stylistic strategies in order to convey their message.

- **Ambazonian**

With the coining of a distinct name for his territory, Gorji Dinka and other activists from the Ambazonia Restoration Council face no difficulty when it comes to the use of demonyms and toponymic adjectives. The natives of Ambazonia are Ambazonians just as the natives of Cameroon are Cameroonians. So there is no confusion here. The use of Ambazonia thus clearly distinguishes and autonomises the territory. Actually, out of Gorji Dinka’s four speeches we studied, three begin with the phrase “fellow Ambazonians”, which is a strong evidence of the fact that he is pushing for the widespread use of the demonym. Some other instances of the use of “Ambazonian” are found below.

[26] (Fon Gorji Dinka, Address to all Ambazonians, 2010) I am calling on all Ambazonians to simply proof to the world that they know who they are and what they want—that **they are not Cameroonians but Ambazonian**, by joining ALEAC and executing its programs.

[27] (Fon Gorji Dinka, Address to all Ambazonians, 2010) I understand that I have been silent as the **Ambazonian** Head of State but this silence is not of my own making. Everything associated with the **Ambazonian** revolution has been a matter of the happenstance of the moment as our good Lord and strategy would dictate.

[28] (Fon Gorji Dinka, Address to all Ambazonians, 2010) What we need is the legal expertise, the exuberant expression of our **Ambazonian nationality** and then the funds to lay the requisite foundation for the recognition by other states of the Republic of Ambazonia. [...] As **Ambazonians**, we know that our destiny is and will always remain in our hands and to do anything less amount to betrayal of our cause.

From the above, it is obvious that toponyms and demonyms may be used to clearly establish a difference between opposing sides in the Southern Cameroonian crisis. Nevertheless, it is often difficult for Southern Cameroonian independence activists to name the people of the French-Speaking part of Cameroon, given the fact that the demonym “Cameroonian” may include Southern Cameroonians too. Therefore they resort to the metaphorical use of “la

republique du Cameroun” in a way that leaves no doubt to the fact talking about French-speaking Cameroonians or part of them. In other situations, the prepositional phrase “of la republique du Cameroun” is use, often preceded by “citizens”, “people” or “government” just to name a few.

- **“LA REPUBLIQUE is a PERSON” metaphor or prepositional phrases**

As we mentioned before, SCNC activists differentiate between their territory, which they refer to as “Southern Cameroons” and the former French territory which is called “la republique du Cameroun”. However, when it comes to the use of toponymic adjectives or demonyms, talking about French-speaking Cameroon is difficult for the leaders of the Southern Cameroons National Council too. First of all, as we mentioned before, using “Cameroonian” may confuse many people who are not familiar with the Anglophone problem in Cameroon. As a matter of fact, “Cameroonian” might be seen as an umbrella category which includes French-speaking Cameroonians and Southern Cameroonians. The second difficulty SCNC activists face spans from the fact that, since they decided to stick to French when naming the French-speaking part of Cameroon, then it is theoretically impossible to add an English affix to a French word. Therefore, the use of “la république is a person” metaphor is very important for SCNC activists, since it helps them keep a clear difference between the citizens of their territory and those of the French-speaking part of Cameroon. That being said, while “Southern Cameroons” has as toponymic adjective “Southern Cameroonian”, “la republique du cameroun” can be used both as a toponym and a demonym. The foregoing is clearly illustrated below:

[29] (Chief Ayamba 2010, 49th Anniversary address) fellow citizens, I invite you to observe a minute of silence in memory of these and other martyrs of ours who have died in the course of the liberation struggle to free Southern Cameroons from the stranglehold of **our oppressors - la Republique du Cameroun**. May their souls Rest in Perfect Peace.

[30] (Chief Ayamba 2011, New Year message) Finally the commission called **on La Republique du Cameroun to enter** into constructive dialogue with the complainants

and in particular the SCNC and SCAPO to resolve the constitutional issues as well as other grievances which could threaten national co-operation.

[31] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st Anniversary speech) **La Republique du Cameroun should rise to the challenge of history** and read the handwriting on the wall.

[32] (Ngala Nfor 2013, End-of-year speech) **La Republique du Cameroun should know** that the constructive dialogue is staring them in the face. They may run away but they will not forever hide from it.

- **Prepositional phrases (of la république)**

As we mentioned earlier, when they do not personify “la republique du Cameroun”, SCNC activists make use of the prepositional phrases “of la republique du cameroun” so as to avoid the use of a demonym. The examples below clearly illustrate the above fact.

[33] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) The Southern Cameroonian youth has been reduced to a second class citizen denied equal rights with **citizens of la Republique du Cameroun**. You have no equal rights to education.

[34] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd Anniversary speech) To the **people of la Republique du Cameroun**, we reaffirm our position. We do not hate you! We did not hate you when your country was engulfed in a civil war.

[35] (Ngala Nfor 2013, End-of-year speech) We do not hate **citizens of la Republique du Cameroun**. Nevertheless, we totally and uncompromisingly reject their system, which they have imposed on us as an annexed and colonized people.

[36] (Ambeazieh 2011, letter to Ban Ki Moon) Mr. John Fru Ndi declared openly that in a conversation long ago with Hogbe Nlend, **a citizen of La Republique du Cameroun** and also one of the former Ministers of La Republique du Cameroun told him that...

[37] (Ambeazieh 2011, letter to Ban Ki Moon) That no Diplomat should visit or pay attention, sympathize with any illegal Political **Party Leader of La Republique du Cameroun** in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons in West Africa.

The above examples therefore illustrate SCNC activists’ conscious effort not to use or to at least reduce their use of “Cameroonian” and by so doing set a clear difference between their territory, citizens and institutions, and French-Speaking Cameroon’s territory, institution and citizens. As mentioned before, this is exactly the reason that led Fon Gorji Dinka to coin the appellation “Ambazonia” and its demonym “Ambazonian” which has been studied earlier

- **YAOUNDE is a PERSON metaphor**

In addition to the metaphor we studied above, it is worthy to also mention the use of “Yaounde” to refer to the French-speaking part of Cameroon, its administration and citizens and thus create a clear separation between them and Southern Cameroons and its people. As a reminder, Yaounde is the capital city of Cameroon and the city where most government institutions are based. The city is found in the French-speaking Centre region and was the capital city of the French-administered territory from 1922 until independence. On the other hand, the capital of British-administered Southern Cameroons was Buea, which continued as the Capital of West Cameroon (or English Cameroon) until the 1972 constitutional reform which put an end to the Federal Republic of Cameroon. To Anglophone nationalists, it is from Yaounde that the alleged annexation of their territory was masterminded and it is from the same city that all assimilationist policies are designed. To them, Yaounde can in no way be representative of Southern Cameroons, but is rather the heart of “La republique du Cameroun’s” system.

Our search for the word led us to discover that it is used 52 times. Though the majority of the uses clearly refer to the city itself, about a third of these uses can be said to be metaphorical or metonymic. This is clearly exemplified in example 38 below (drawn from Ngala Nfor’s 2013 end of year message) which we will carefully consider.

[38] In a bid to give the so-called “50th Anniversary of Reunification celebrations in Buea” a semblance of legality, **Yaoundé** under the patronage of the Director of Civil Cabinet at the Presidency of la Republique organized a series of debates and conferences in **Yaoundé**, Foulassi and finally Foumban.

In the above example, Yaounde appears twice but has very distinct pragmatic effects in each of these tokens. The first time it appears, it goes without saying that Ngala Nfor is not talking about the city itself but rather referring to the Francophone-dominated administration. This is why he specifies the fact that, in this specific issue, the political actions carried out were headed by the the Director of the Civil Cabinet at the Presidency of “la republique”, which as a reminder is allegedly a distinct country from Southern Cameroons. This use of “yaoundé” is

thus different from the second use, which refers to the city in the same way as Buea, Foulassi and Foumban, that also appear in the example. Some other examples of the metaphorical or metonymic use of Yaounde include excerpts 39 to 45 below:

[39] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Letter to the elite) The warnings given on May 26, 1990 were either not taken serious [sic] or they were ignored and the more we pressed on the hard and uncompromising message came in various ways and even from their masters in France whose interest **Yaoundé is duty bound to protect and promote.**

[40] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Letter to the elite) Since the birth of the party **Yaoundé has demonstrated** in all ways possible that we belong apart – master and servant, the rulers and ruled and that the ruled have no voice.

[41] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Letter to the elite) In its interest **Yaoundé plays one against the other** and promotes hostility between the two provinces through its paid agents.

[42](Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to Briish Southern Cameroons students) [Southern Cameroons]Had its own electricity corporation – PowerCam which was cheaper and more efficient but **Yaoundé closed it** and imposed SONEL on us which is more expensive, and inefficient.

[43] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) By expediting the restoration of our statehood **we assure Yaoundé** that our land is so holly for terrorists to find sanctuary so those draconian laws are for the land and people who have known terrorism.

[44] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) To disarm us, falsehood, distortion of historical facts, misinformation and misrepresentation at home has been the instrument **Yaoundé has used to conquer our minds.**

[45] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) The bottle filled with Beaufort in which **Yaoundé has forced** and believes it has corked British Southern Cameroons in must be shattered so that we are heard and seen in the council of free men of vision and integrity. We are worth far more than the label and tag put on us by Yaoundé.

To conclude this part, we can say with a high degree of certainty that Southern Cameroonian nationalists make use of some specific strategies in their pieces of discourse to present their territory as a distinct entity. By and large, we noted the fact that autonomisation strategies hovered around the use of toponyms, toponymic adjectives and demonyms. In other words, Southern Cameroonian nationalists do everything possible to refer to their territory and people in a way that will not create a confusion between the said territory and people on the one hand, and the French-Speaking part of Cameroon on the other hand. To achieve this,

SCNC activists decide to stick to the French appellation “La republique du Cameroun” when referring to French-Cameroon, while using “Southern Cameroons” to refer to their territory. This phrase is often preceded by the adjective “British” to make it clear that the territory being referred to in those situations is not the southern part of the former French administered UN Trust-Territory but rather the Southern portion of the territory that was administered by the United Kingdom. Activists from the Ambazonia Restoration Council, represented in our speeches by Fon Gorji Dinka prefer to make use of a newly coined word, that is “Ambazonia”, which clearly differentiates the territory from “Cameroon” as it is known today be it with its French or English spellings.

The above referential strategies clearly have their strengths and weaknesses. As a matter of fact, the use of “British Southern Cameroons” refers to a territory that can clearly be identified when one goes back in time and which is internationally recognised as a transitional territory between the German Kamerun and the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Nevertheless, people who are not acquainted with Cameroon (politics) may think Southern Cameroons is just a province, and they may fail to understand nationalists’ claim that it was a distinct territory. The use of the French appellation is also likely to confuse many who may not understand why French is used in that context.

As far as the use of “Ambazonia” is concerned, the toponym helps to create a clear separation between former British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroun. Since the word doesn’t include “Cameroon” this clearly helps not to think about that country when talking about former British Southern Cameroons. Nevertheless, Ambazonia is a name that has no history, given that the word was never used before Gorji Dinka and his mates coined it. Actually, no word processor recognises it, and it is not found in any dictionary. Moreover, its similarity with “Amazonia” may again confuse many, and make them think we are talking about a territory somewhere in South America. Nevertheless, as we mentioned before, this word is

really gaining ground amongst Southern Cameroonians and may end up becoming the most-widespread appellation for the territory.

- **Chilton's perspective**

From a Discourse Space Model approach, “Southern Cameroons” and “Ambazonia”, as well as the demonyms and other adjectives deriving from them represent proximal space, while “La République du Cameroun” and “Yaounde” may be interpreted as a representation of distal space. “Cameroon” on its part is a medial space marker, as this word totally excludes neither Southern Cameroons nor “la republique du Cameroun”. This is further illustrated in Figure 5.1 below.

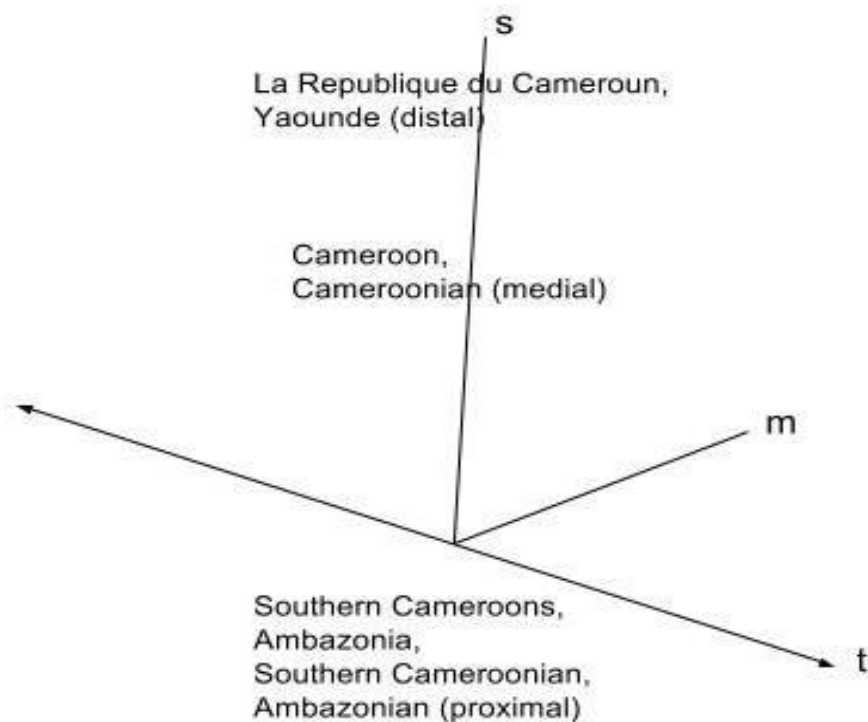


Figure 5.1 Space relationship: Southern Cameroons toponyms and demonyms

After having used many strategies to singularise or idealise their historical state and also to separate it from the current Francophone-dominated country, Anglophone nationalists then move forward to strategies aimed at rallying their people behind the struggle for self-determination. This is discussed under the next heading.

5.3 Unification and cohesivation strategies

“What unites us – territory defined in inherited colonial treaties, history, culture, common law, language, world view, among others, are far weightier, tangible and noble than the coloniser’s imposed evil for his prestige and grandeur.”

Wodak *et al.* make it clear that in all national identity discourse, there are instances of strategies aimed at bringing people together, creating a sense of brotherhood amongst them, enjoining them to certain actions, and threatening them if they fail to join participate in nationalist activities. Unification and cohesivation strategies are achieved by the use of nomination and predication strategies, topoi such as “common language and culture”, which emphasize the distinct linguistic and cultural tradition shared by all Anglophone Cameroonians, or usefulness and threat. Linguistic resources such constructions expressing obligation (deontic modality), allegory, lexemes related to colonialism are used to call for unification and cohesivation. In Southern Cameroonian nationalist pieces of discourse, deontic modality in particular plays a very important role when it comes to enjoining the people to take an active role in the struggle.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|--|---|---|--|
| We all have an Anglo-Saxon culture | Nomination: in group/out group separation, topos of common language and culture, topos of threat, foregrounding/backgrounding | Lexemes related to relics of British colonialism, reference to the threat posed by Francophones and French, backgrounding of tribal differences | Common Law, Anglo-saxon educational system, Francophonised, Francophones, French, North West-South West divide |
| All Southern Cameroonians should unite | Topos of usefulness, topos of justice and equality, topos of threat, topos of fear, topos of religion | Deontic modals, deontic verbs, imperatives, intertextuality, allegory, lexemes expressing threat | Must, need to, have to, should, call on, appeal, challenge, implore, focus, God of justice, evil spirit, warn |

Table 5.4 Unification and cohesivation strategies

5.3.1 Southern Cameroonians have an Anglo-Saxon culture

The speeches and open letters we studied often emphasise the fact that Southern Cameroonians have a language and culture which is clearly distinct from that of French-speaking Cameroonians, and is a legacy of the British administration of Southern Cameroons. From an argumentative perspective, this idea falls within what we can refer to as topos of common language and culture. Therefore, the English language, as well as other elements of that culture such as the English Common Law and English Education, is seen as a unifying factor amongst Southern Cameroonians. As we mentioned in earlier chapters, since reunification with French Cameroon, the French language and culture have crept into Southern Cameroons, thus making nationalist leaders believe that the French-speaking administration of Cameroon aims at destroying their nation by gradually wiping out all aspects of the Anglo-Saxon culture. The foregoing can be seen as evidence of the topos of threat, given the fact that Ngala Nfor is actually suggesting that if nothing is done about the overwhelming presence of French in Southern Cameroons, then their cherished identity will disappear. This is exactly what transpires from excerpts 46 to 50 below.

[46] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) The destruction of our **Anglo Saxon educational system** is sending a sharp knife through the core of **our inherent identity**. Education deals with the cultural heritage, core values, vision and principles of life of a people. Assimilation is the instrument by which all these are destroyed to facilitate and concretise annexation.

[47] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Letter to the elite) Though the refinery – **SONARA (French acronym) is built in Victoria**, management and staffing is dominated by Francophone. Since creation no Southern Cameroonian has ever been a General Manager and **the lingua franca there is French**.

[48] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Letter to the elite) Mutengene, Police College opened by British Southern Cameroons Government in 1958 has been **francophonised** and is heavily dominated by **Francophone staff and students**.

[49] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Letter to the elite) As a deliberate step to abolishing the **Common Law jurisdiction** and imposing the Napoleonic code, the courts in British Southern Cameroons are flooded with **Francophone magistrates** steeped in the Civil

Law system who insist that submissions be made in **French**. Bilingualism is euphemism for frenchification.

[50] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) The deliberate action taken by Yaoundé to destroy the **Common Law and our Anglo Saxon educational system is aimed at erasing British Southern Cameroons from the map of Africa**.

Therefore, standing for the English language and fighting for the preservation of English education and the English Common Law system are tantamount to enforcing unity and cohesion amongst the people of Southern Cameroons. This is why Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders make sure they tell their audience that if they do not stand for their Anglo-saxon culture then they will cease to exist as a nation. Such emphasis on these common features is thus a great way of seeking for and consolidating unity and cohesion amongst the people of Southern Cameroons. More examples of this are found below.

[51] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year speech) What unites us – territory defined in **inherited colonial treaties, history, culture, common law, language**, world view, among others, are far weightier, tangible and noble than the coloniser's imposed evil for his prestige and grandeur.

[52] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year speech) **The Common Law and the Anglo-Saxon educational system and heritage constitute the soul of the British Southern Cameroons** nation which la Republique du Cameroun for its prestige and grandeur cannot put to the torch.

Considering the above, it is clear that Southern Cameroonian nationalists' emphasis on unifying factors that span from colonialism is an effective way of constructing nationalism, because as we mentioned earlier in this write-up, it is only by emphasizing their collective colonial experience and legacies that the people of Southern Cameroons can get more united and feel distinct from their French-speaking counterparts.

- **Our Anglo-Saxon heritage is stronger than North West/ South West divide**

Apart from Emphasizing common features which were inherited from the British colonial administration of Southern Cameroons, the leaders whose speeches and open letters were studied in this write-up are totally against the division of their territory. Before talking further

into the strategies aimed at rejecting the North-West/South-West divide, it is important to go back to context in order to fully understand what is at stake here. Since reunification with French-speaking Cameroon, the former British territory of Southern Cameroons has been divided into 2 administrative regions representing its northern and southern zones. These two Regions (which were formerly known as Provinces) are referred to as North-West and South-West. Beyond this administrative separation, people of the North-West and the South-West regions are separated along ethnic and tribal lines. As a matter of fact, the South West Region's indigenous people are Bantoid and part of a continuum of coastal tribes spread from the Cross River to River Ntem's Estuary. Members of these ethnic groups, most of whom claim to originate from the greater Congo area, speak related languages and have similar customs and traditions. Given the fact that most of these tribes live on the Coast, their culture and lifestyles have been heavily influenced by the sea. They were also the first indigenous groups to get in touch with Europeans, this is why it is often claimed that they have a more modern mentality than people from the North-West Region. Also known as Grassfielders, indigenes of the North-West Region mostly migrated from the Adamawa Plateau of Cameroon, and still have very close ethnic ties with the Tikar, Bamun and Bamileke ethnic groups found in the French-speaking part of the territory. They are organised in very strong ethnic monarchies (or Fondoms) headed by a Fon. Grassfielders have always spearheaded politics within Southern Cameroons and Cameroon at large. When compared to their coastal counterparts, Grassfielders have allegedly been more vocal when it comes to fighting for political change in the country.

Though some cultural differences may exist between indigenes of the South-West and the North-West, it goes without saying that there have been some generalisations and clichés developed by many, and such clichés do not really apply to the reality on the ground. In fact, many grassfielders were born and raised in the South-West and are only from the North-West

because Cameroon is a highly tribal country where ethnic origin is more important than place of birth. Moreover, there have been a lot of intermarriages between members of North-West and South-West ethnic groups thus creating a hybrid culture. According to Southern Cameroonian independence activists, the Francophone-dominated administration of Cameroon has been fighting tooth and nail to further widen the gap between North-Westerners and South-Westerners

To Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders, their shared Anglo-Saxon heritage is more important than ethnicity, because this is what makes them distinct from citizens of the French-speaking part of Cameroon. Therefore, they see the North-West/South-West division as an attempt at *tribalising* their territory and stand against it. Let's consider the following examples:

[53] (Ngala Nfor 2014, End-of-year message) To play games of seeking personal favours, of betraying your kinsmen for cheap popularity, of singing and dancing to the coloniser's music of divide and rule, of **tribalism and north west – south west divide is to perpetuate our subhuman status and statelessness**.

[54] (Ngala Nfor 2014, End-of-year message) Those harping on **the North West – South West dichotomy** should first ask who practically created a north west and a south west?

[55] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) Recalling that the existence of **the South West as opposed to the North West** is la Republique du Cameroun colonial product of divide and rule,...

As 53, 54 and 55 above illustrate, Ngala Nfor totally rejects the separation between North/west and South-West. As he mentions in 53 and 55, these regions are mere colonial separations aimed at separating Southern Cameroonians and should not be taken into account by his fellow countrymen. Nevertheless, this argument is built on a fallacy and a paradox, as the Southern Cameroonian nation itself is built on colonial principles. Whatever the case, this is another instance of foregrounding/backgrounding and arbitrary judgement, where a given experience or situation is emphasized and judged positively so long as it suits one's objectives, while another similar experience is rejected and discarded if it doesn't contribute

to constructing the nation. The colonial partition of German Kamerun is positively rated by Southern Cameroonian nationalists as it contributed to creating their distinct Anglo-Saxon identity while the alleged colonial partition of British Southern Cameroon between the North-West and the South-West Regions is heavily criticised and seen as an attempt to destroy another colonially inherited identity. The lexeme “colonial” may therefore be positive (if it refers to British colonialism) and negative when referring to Cameroon.

Overall, this is exactly what nationalist discourse is all about, emphasizing all situations which contribute to building the nation and discarding those which don’t.

5.3.2 All Southern Cameroonians should unite

As we mentioned earlier in this chapter, unification and cohesivation strategies aim at unifying people who are part of the nation being built and enjoining them to specific actions. So far we have seen how Anglophone nationalists emphasize their Anglo-Saxon colonial heritage, while rejecting ethnic differences in a bid to foster unity amongst fellow citizens. What’s more, they often want their people to act in ways that will contribute to building the nation and therefore make use of grammatical structures expressing desire, obligation and order. More specifically, instances of deontic modality aim at rallying Southern Cameroonians behind the independence movement. These instances are underpinned by the topos of justice and equality as well as topos of usefulness and threat. Deontic modality spans from the use of very strong modal verbs such as “must” or imperatives, to the use of subtle deontic constructions such as “we call on you” or “let us”. These are going to be presented in deeper details below.

- **Deontic modal verbs**

When we talk about obligation in the English language, it goes without saying that there are degrees of strength and such degrees of strength are expressed by distinct constructions or modal verbs. That said, one can state with a high degree of certainty that the use of the modal

verb “must” is one of the strongest ways of expressing obligation in discourse. When studying Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse, we noted the overwhelming presence of “we must” and “you must” constructions. As it might be guessed, these constructions are all overwhelmingly aimed at telling Southern Cameroonians how they should behave and what they should do. Our software search for tokens of these constructions led us to find that “we must” appears 29 times in our corpus, while “you must” is used only twice. Southern Cameroonian nationalists’ choice to use “we” rather than “you” in most situations where they are expressing a strong obligation may be understood as a way of avoiding being seen as dictators, by including themselves in the obligation. So, Southern cameroonian nationalist leaders’ use of the first person plural in such obligations is tantamount to saying that they are also part of the struggle, that they are not exempt from the people’s obligations. By so doing, they can make the people identify with them more. Examples of “must” deontic utterances are found below.

[56] (Ngala Nfor 2015, 53rd Anniversary speech) Learning from our age of hope and promise and the dark-age under la Republique du Cameroun subjugation, **we must** vehemently reject and cast away everything seen in the evil system. From the good of the age of hope and promise **we must** be determined to build a system of government that is people- centred, that is, a system of government at the service of the common man.

[57] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) In defending our rights and identity **we must** be aggressive, seek the open space where free men meet freely and help contribute to the building of a better world and greater humanity.

[58] (Chief Ayamba 2011, New Year Message) Freedom is indeed within our reach so **we must** make the last effort to achieve it and join our rightful place in the community of free, sovereign nations of the world.

[59] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention Speech) We have become synonymous with transparency, accountability and responsibility and we must behave as befits a people with such sterling traits. **We must** show not in our words, but in our deed, that we are earnestly desirous of achieving the independence of Southern Cameroons.

[60] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Open letter to political leaders) **We must** not allow the enemy to, at will, continue to exploit our patience and play one against the other. British Southern Cameroons is one and indivisible.

From the above, we can see that the use of “must” is way of telling Southern Cameroonians how important and urgent it is for them to join the struggle for independence, and to move away from any divisive tendencies. As we mentioned earlier, Southern Cameroonian nationalists’ preference of the first person plural when making use of this strong deontic modal is a way of hedging the obligation and telling their fellow compatriots that they themselves need to make efforts and that they are not exempt from the obligations they express.

In addition to “we/you must” that have been presented above, we can also add the fact that Anglophone nationalists also use the phrases “we should”, “we have to” and “we need to” in the same way as “you/we must” above. Statistically, these deontic expressions are used fewer times than “we/you must”. To be specific, “we should” appears five times in our pieces of discourse while “we have to” appears four times. As concerns “we need to”, it appears twice throughout our corpus (See Chart 5.2). Some examples of those uses are found below.

[61] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention Speech) **We should and must** do this because the stakes are high and moment is ripe for a definitive fix to this perennial problem of annexation.

[62] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Letter to the elite) **We should** unite and pray that this evil should stay beyond our borders and that the perpetrators should either surrender or be crushed where they are.

[63] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention Speech) **We have to** stimulate a spirit of adventure, of common purpose, a positive feeling, a stirring national cadence and a sense of mission.

[64] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Address to all Ambazonians) But **we have to** first of all be independent in the mind and this is the responsibility of that individual Ambazonian!

[65] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Silver jubilee Speech) On this silver jubilee **we need to** focus on the methodology of enforcing law against the lawless persons who to this day arrest, detain, maim, and kill many Ambazonians for seeking no other thing than compliance with law 84/01

At this juncture, we can add the fact that in addition to the use of modal verbs to express strong obligations as presented above, Southern Cameroonian nationalists also make use of

imperatives. These imperatives also have the aim of enjoining the people of Southern Cameroons to specific actions which will contribute to constructing the nation and strengthen the independence struggle. Given the length of our corpus, it was impossible to have an exhaustive list of imperatives, and more so because the structure of the English language makes it impossible to search for imperatives using a software package like Antconc. The foregoing notwithstanding, 66 and 67 below are some instances of imperatives.

[66] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd Anniversary Speech) **Focus** on the bigger picture! Jump on the liberation train and let us unite for national restoration and glory.

[67] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Ambazonia nationality campaigns address) **Focus** on the bigger picture! Jump on the liberation train and let us unite for national restoration and glory.

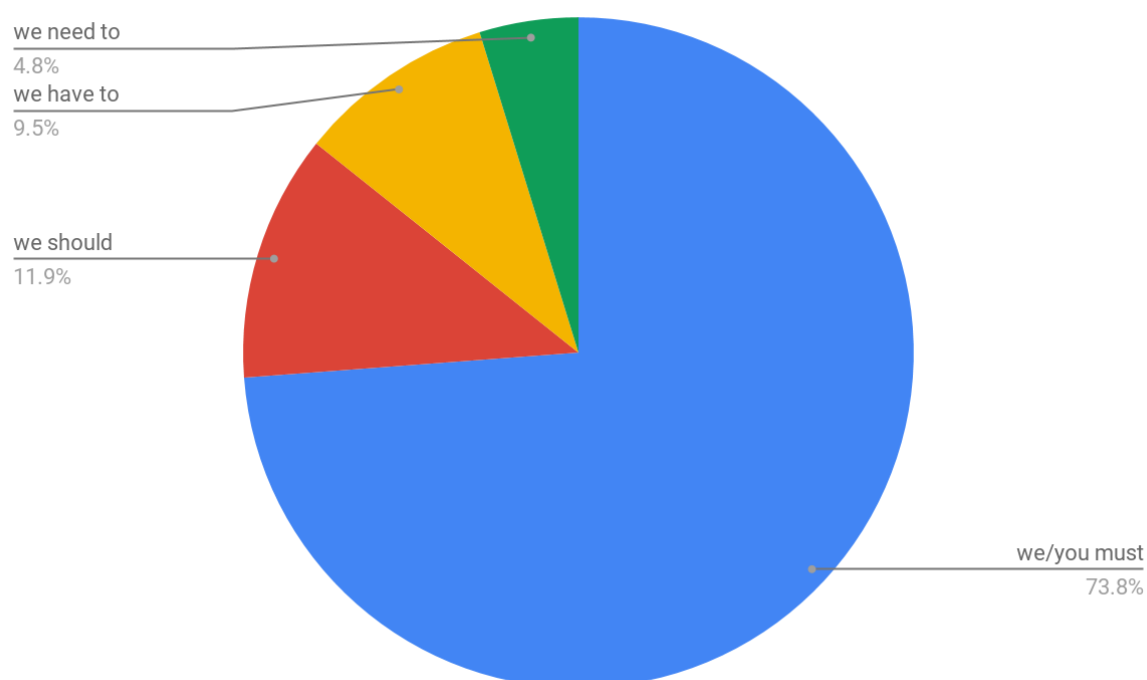


Chart 5.2 Deontic modals

- **Content verbs with deontic overtones**

When Southern Cameroonian nationalists don't make use of direct obligations, they turn to indirect deontic structures, which also point to the fact that Southern Cameroonians must unite in order to win the struggle for independence.

As we mentioned earlier, rather than using modal auxiliaries which express direct orders, the nationalists we studied resort to more indirect strategies like the use of content verbs such as “call” in constructions like “I call (up)on”, “we call (up)on” and “we call for”. Altogether, deontic constructions using “call” appear twenty one (21) times throughout our corpus, making this verb the mostly used deontic content verb in our corpus (see Chart 5.3). As a reminder, the aim here is creating unification and cohesion amongst Southern Cameroonians and leading them to behave a certain way or carry out certain actions: let’s consider the following examples:

[68] (Chief Ayamba 2011, New year message) **I call upon** all of you fellow compatriots, to be more hopeful now than ever before and implore you to be extremely vigilant to watch out against any surprise that our enemy is likely to spring up to delay and frustrate our hope.

[69] (Chief Ayamba 2011, New year message) **I call upon** Southern Cameroonians at home and in the Diaspora to explore ways and means to hasten the coming of the day when we shall say we are free at last!

[70] (Ngala Nfor 2015, 53rd Anniversary speech) To hasten our liberation, **I call on** all of us to sink whatever differences exist.

[71] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Open letter to political leaders) It is in this light that **I call on** all Southern Cameroonians to stand against the Islamist Boko Haram terrorists who are mercilessly slaughtering innocent people in the north of la Republique du Cameroun and in Nigeria.

[72] (Ngala Nfor 2013, End of year speech) **I call on** all Southern Cameroonians to rise to the challenge of the moment:[...] Freedom is your right! Those in bondage know no dignity and progress. They have no rich legacy to bequeath but servitude.

[73] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to British Southern Cameroons students) To end, **I call on** you all to respect and obey your parents and help them during this long vacation. The holidays should be used productively.

[74] (Ngala Nfor 2014, End of Year message) **I call on** you to love one another. Let the fraternal bonds of unity, of being your brother's keeper be renewed and strengthened. I call on you to reconcile and love each other for in love and confidence we can do great things.

As one can see in the above examples Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders want to create a sense of unity amongst all members of his population. This is exactly why “All” appears in excerpts 68, 70, 71, 72 and 73. As the excerpts clearly illustrate, Chief Ayamba

and Ngala Nfor are preaching love and respect amongst Southern Cameroonians, as well as unity in the independence struggle, and unity against terrorism. This is exactly the same goal in sentences where deontic “we call (up)on” or “we call for” as illustrated below:

[75] (Ngala Nfor 2013, End-of-year speech) Conscious of the fact that the permanent solution lies in de-annexation and restoration of a sovereign independent Southern Cameroons nation **we call for** unity and solidarity. While we laud the openness, nationalistic conscious awakening from different angles and interest groups, we call for synergy, a common point of convergence for a common solution.

[76] (Chief Ayamba 2010, 49th Anniversary speech) **We call upon** our adherents and supporters not to panic as this is certainly not the dead end yet because the light at the end of the tunnel has been seen as we crisscross the globe looking for new friends and consolidating our relationships with old ones.

[77] (Chief Ayamba 2010, 49th Anniversary speech) **We call upon** these stooges and bootlickers to join the freedom train early enough and contribute their quarter towards the liberation struggle or to be forever condemned by the court of history when the hour of reckoning comes.

[78] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) **We call on** all patriotic British Southern Cameroonians both at home and abroad to fasten their belts, reaffirm their commitments to the struggle for the coming year promises greater challenges and more sacrifices.

At this juncture, we can say that the use of the different deontic structures based on the verb to “call” are strategies which are particularly cherished by Southern Cameroonian nationalists when it comes to expressing their desire for all of their people to be united and unanimous in their aim at building a better and independence Southern Cameroons nation. What’s more, these structures may be used to give instructions on how to behave in order to foster the independence struggle. When Anglophone nationalists do not use the verbs “to call”, they often resort to “implore”, “appeal” and challenge, which are not used as much as “call”. As concerns “implore”, it appears 3 times in our corpus, and its deontic strength lies on the fact that the speakers seem to be desperately in need of specific actions from the people. “Appeal” has a deontic use in 3 instances, while “challenge” is used as a deontic verb twice. Example 79 below exemplifies the use of “implore”

[79] (Ngala Nfor 2013, End-of-year address) **I implore you** all to stand firm, defy all odds and defend the truth for nowhere on earth has falsehood ever triumphed over the truth nor injustice over justice and evil over goodness.

Verbs can therefore be used to express a certain type of modality and enjoin people to specific actions. Apart from the above, verb constructions resorting to “let” are also used to unify the people of Southern Cameroons and foster cohesion in whatever they are doing. This is discussed below.

Our software search of the phrase “let us” yielded ten (10) results. In all the instances where the phrase is used, it definitely aims at enjoining the people of Southern Cameroons to adopt a collective stance in their struggle for self-determination, as it only by being united that they will achieve their goal. Some excerpts including “let us” are found below:

[80] (Ngala Nfor 2015, 53rd Anniversary speech) Jump on the liberation train and **let us** unite for national restoration and glory. Let us stop listening to the lies and falsehood from Yaoundé.

[81] (Ngala Nfor 2015, 53rd Anniversary speech) **Let us** in solidarity, men, youths and women rise and hasten the New Dawn!

[82] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention Speech) **Let us** all come together and commit to be ambassadors of good will for this noble struggle.

[83] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Address to all Ambazonians) **Let us** be honest with ourselves or die as hypocrites several times over!

[84] (Ngala Nfor 2014, New Year message) To imbue the spirit of patriotism in the young **let us** build strong families where love, care, sacrifice, sense of belonging and hard work condition and direct our everyday life and relationships.

[85] (Ngala Nfor 2015, New Year message) In this regard **let each and every one of us**, for our individual and collective interest and above all for the dignity of our children and national integrity of our fatherland let us all jettison Yaoundé’s imposed NW-SW dichotomy.

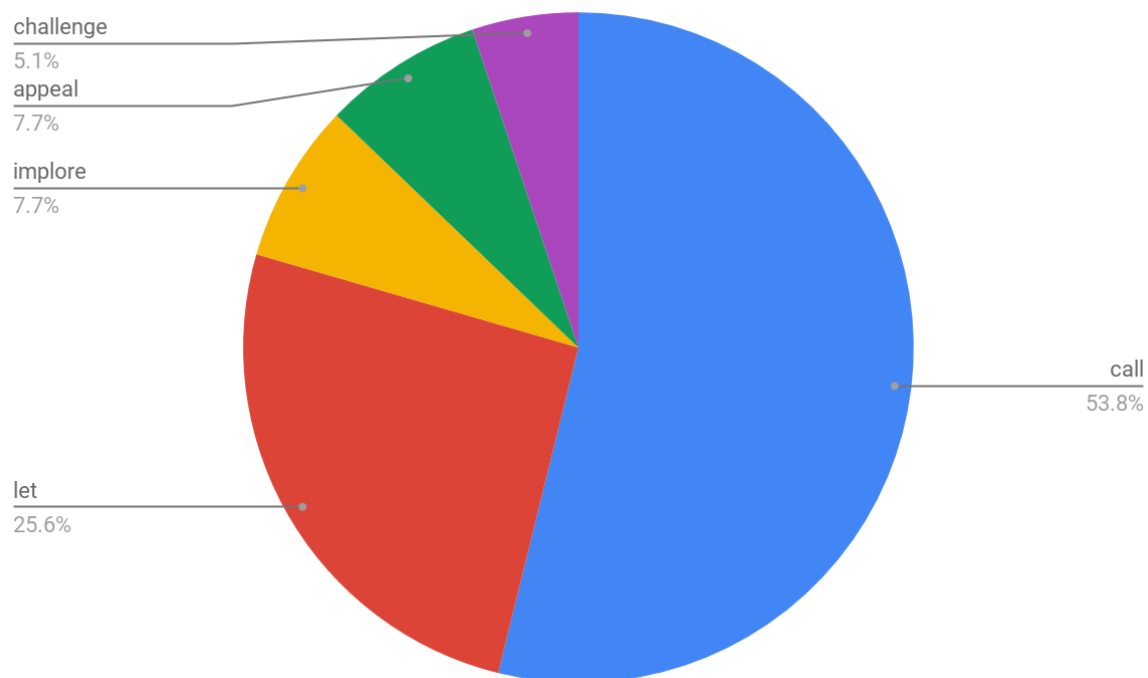


Chart 5.3. Deontic verbs

Modality is therefore very important when it comes to rallying all Southern Cameroonians behind independence activists. Modality is expressed through the use of modal verbs, content verbs with deontic meanings as well as imperatives be they personal or impersonal as it is the case with “let”. Modality however is not the only linguistic strategy used by Anglophone nationalists to call for unity and cohesion in the struggle for independence. As a matter of fact, other strategies such as religious and philosophical references or topoi such as those of threat and transport can be used for that purpose. All these will be discussed below.

- **Pathos for unification and cohesivation**

In traditional rhetoric, pathos refers to arguments that are not aimed at persuading the audience using facts. According to Aristotle in *Rhetoric*, speakers often try to induce their listeners to make desired decisions by awakening their emotions (Book 2.1.2–3). These emotions can be positive like joy and happiness, but also negative like fear, sadness, just to name a few. In the Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse we studied, emotions can be used to convince people to unite and work together. This is often achieved by resorting to the topoi of religion and fear.

As it is the case in many Third World countries, religion still plays a very important part in Cameroon and Southern Cameroons in particular. In fact, the importance of religion in Southern Cameroons can be evidenced by the high prestige enjoyed by some religious academic institutions and the great influence of members of the clergy in that society. The Southern Cameroonian population is mainly Christian, though there is a tiny Muslim minority scattered around the territory's Northern highlands. The Christian population is mainly made up of Protestant believers. Lately, the territory has experienced a rapid growth of Evangelical or Pentecostal churches, as Southern Cameroons' contiguity with Nigeria supposed the spread of that religious movement which started in Nigeria. Nowadays many Evangelical churches in Cameroon are headed by Nigerians or Anglophone Cameroonians who have lived in Nigeria (Konings 2003: 2).

Considering the above, it is therefore no surprise that Southern Cameroonian nationalists make use of various religious references in their discourse. These references are more often aimed at legitimising the struggle, but can also be used to foster unity and cohesion, as we attempt to demonstrate below.

[86] (Ngala Nfor 2015, New Year speech) Man is a community man. And this spirit is put in man by His Creator who from the beginning said "let us make man in our image".

In 86 above, we clearly see how Ngala Nfor Ngala resorts to the Bible to justify his call for unity. According to him, the need for unity is something God put in man when it created him. By quoting a passage from Genesis 1, Ngala Nfor may be trying to tell his people that being together is God's will for them and if they do not unite they would be disobeying God. This is a very strong motivation of people living in the religious context that we presented earlier. Let's consider another example

[87] (Ngala Nfor 2015, New Year speech) Learning from our mistakes and failures we must in confidence and with **God of justice** on our side move forward in renewed

spirits. As we move into the New Year, let the **evil spirit** of individualism, self-seeking, greed and treachery be buried. Traitors never win against their people!

Here, Ngala Nfor resorts once more on the topos of religion to encourage fellow Southern Cameroonians to come together as one in order to push for their independence. After having made it clear that God is on their side, he insists that those who are not for unity are motivated by evil spirits, that is, demons (in Christian parlance). He therefore presents the fight for Southern Cameroons' independence as a confrontation between good and evil, or better still, a fight between God and Satan. Southern Cameroonians who are not part of the independence struggle are therefore siding with demons and are encouraged to repent and change sides, else they will face the consequences of siding with the enemies of the creator. Religion is therefore used not only to encourage Southern Cameroonians to join the fight, but also to threaten those who may be against the struggle. This is evidence of the topos of threat. In fact, the topos of threat is not only underpinned by religion, but by any argumentation scheme which Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders use in order to rally fellow citizens behind the self-determination endeavour. By topos of threat we therefore mean all commonplace arguments aimed at persuading the audience that if they do not act in a certain way, then they are going to face terrible consequences. This topos is further exemplified in the excerpts which will be discussed below.

[88] (Ngala Nfor 2015, New Year speech) As Senator Nfon V.E. Mukete called on Southern Cameroonians to rise up and speak out in defense of who they are, in defense of their inherent rights, we call on the Teachers Union to understand the language and tactics of Yaoundé. **Any lamb that goes to dance with baby lions must know that it will soon be pepper soup for their breakfast.**

In excerpt 88 above, we can see Ngala Nfor threatening Southern Cameroonians who may want to cooperate with the French Speaking administration. According to him, they should instead unite and stand for their rights, else their fate will get even worse. To make things clearer, he makes use of a series of metaphors, where Southern Cameroonians are compared to a lamb while members of the Yaounde administration are likened to baby lions, who

though they appear to be gentle, will not miss any opportunity to deal with Southern Cameroonians the worst way possible. Finally, as we can see in examples 89 and 90 below, Southern Cameroonian leaders often make use of very direct threats to the people who are not willing to join the struggle for independence. Here, the verb “warn” is directed at all those who will fail to join the self-determination movement, which suggests they will face painful consequences.

[89] (Chief Ayamba 2010, 49th Anniversary speech) All Southern Cameroonians who are collaborating with the forces of oppression are hereby **warned** to desist from fraternizing with the enemy because of the sinecure positions they hold. They should know that nothing is as sweet as freedom and that servitude can never be replaced by perpetual subservience and enslavement. We call upon these stooges and bootlickers to join the freedom train early enough and contribute their quarter towards the liberation struggle or to be **forever condemned** by the court of history when the hour of reckoning comes.

[90] (Chief Ayamba 2010, End-of-year message) I take this opportunity to **warn** those of our compatriots who are fraternizing with our enemy and thereby jeopardizing our interest. Presently, many of these people who occupy sinecure jobs are criss-crossing our territory compelling Southern Cameroonians to register to vote in the 2011 presidential elections whose results are a foregone conclusion. Any participation in these elections will only spell doom for our cause. Nobody should bother to register for those ill-fated elections.

We may add that the topoi of religion and threat are often very close to one another, as unification and cohesivation are often achieved by bringing both topoi together. In addition, both topoi make up another topos which we may call the topos of usefulness. In fact, Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders’ overall aim is to tell their people that they will highly benefit from their territory's independence, hence they should fight to make it happen. Coming back to the topoi of threat and religion, in the excerpt below, Gorji Dinka states that those who have decided to stand against Southern Cameroon’s struggle for self-determination will be punished by God himself. Though this may not be much of a warning in a Western context where people are increasingly giving up religious beliefs, in the Southern Cameroons context, this is a tremendous threat.

[91] (Gorji Dinka 2010, silver jubilee of Ambazonia Republic) ...the Lord God who initiated Ambazonia's Liberation struggle (and will give us victory sooner than later), is the cause and effect of all things. He has given you the Ambazonian patriot and the anglofool traitor assignments. **And to every assignment He has attached a befitting reward; which would come true in the fullness of His time and in His usually mysterious ways.**

To sum up, we can say that unification and cohesivation are key strategies in Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse. As a matter of fact, since the nation is a social construct, nationalist leaders will do everything possible to present their people as united and encourage others to join them in order to achieve a completely homogeneous nation. We also noted the fact that Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders make use of discourse in order to enjoin fellow citizens to specific actions which altogether will contribute to fostering the Southern Cameroonian nation. To achieve their goals, they turn to deontic modality which can be expressed through content and modal verbs expressing more or less direct obligations. In addition to this, pathos is often used in a way that aims at bringing all Southern Cameroonians together. More specifically, references to religious texts (intertextuality) appeal to the religious beliefs of Southern Cameroonians and thus contribute to making them believe that joining the fight is a divine duty. Religion often goes together with the topos of threat on which Southern Cameroonian nationalists rely to convince those who may be lagging behind. The use of semantically loaded words like "warn" is clear evidence of this fact.

Overall, the unification and cohesivation strategies used by Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders share a lot of similarities with the ones found in Catalan leader Artur Mas's speeches. This therefore demonstrates that despite geographical, cultural and political differences, nationalist leaders often turn to the same strategies to reach their goals. The foregoing notwithstanding, it is worth mentioning that unification and cohesivation strategies are very

close to assimilation, inclusion and continuation strategies as they all aim at unity between citizens of the nation to-be.

5.4 Assimilation, inclusion and continuation strategies

“Today 10-10-10 marks twenty years since the proclamation formalizing the restoration of the independence of our country as a **sovereign nation of Ambazonia** was signed by me.”

Wodak et al. define assimilation and inclusion strategies as discursive strategies aimed at constructing sameness amongst members of a given nation. Intranational sameness is therefore used to also justify and enforce the construction of a separate and different nation, given that, as Hall stated, “without relations of difference, no representation would occur” (1999:229). Though Wodak et al. decided to study them together, it is preferable, for clarity’s sake to study assimilation and inclusion strategies on the one hand, then move on to continuation strategy. Nevertheless, before getting to that, it is worth-noting that assimilation and inclusion strategies are based on the idea that Southern Cameroonians are a nation and face the same difficulties and threats. This idea may be realised through the use of lexemes expressing homogeneity, first or third person pronouns and adjectives, metaphor and a certain number of topoi. These are illustrated under the following headings.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|--|--|---|---|
| Southern Cameroonians make up a united and distinct whole | Nomination and predication: in group/out group formation | Lexemes denoting perfect homogeneity/ shared trouble, metaphor, personal pronouns and possessives, train/boat topos | People, nation, we, our, us, keep the struggle afloat, freedom/independence/liberation train |
| The struggle for selfdetermination is built on what early independence activists did | Nomination and predication, Topos of history as a teacher, topos of continuation | Positive characterisation, intertextuality, Reference to historical figures, storytelling, | Visionaries, prophets, great leaders, patriots, heroes |

Table 5.5. Assimilation, inclusion and continuation strategies

5.4.1 Southern Cameroonians make up a united and distinct whole

Here, the aim of Southern Cameroonian nationalists is to present their people as fully homogeneous and united. To achieve that, they make use of nomination and predication strategies, especially the use of lexemes such as “nation” and “people” when describing Southern Cameroonians. Our investigation of Southern Cameroonian pieces of nationalist discourse made us find out the recurring use of “Southern Cameroons” in relation to “people” in phrases such as “the people of Southern Cameroons” (10 tokens), “the people of British Southern Cameroons” (5 tokens), “Southern Cameroons people” (4 tokens), “Southern Cameroonian people” (7 tokens). As a matter of fact, the word “people” appears 176 times throughout our corpus and in about three quarters of these tokens, it is directly or indirectly related to Southern Cameroons .

When looking closely at the way that word is used, we realised that it may be understood as an alternative to “nation”. Let’s consider the following examples:

[92] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention speech) We were impressed with the outcome of Communication 266/2003 which came up with the landmark ruling that the people of Southern Cameroons can legitimately claim to be a **“people”**. The recognition that **Southern Cameroonians can legitimately claim to be a people** is a position which admits to a logic that is quite simple: the logic takes into account the fact that” besides the individual rights due to Southern Cameroons, **they have a distinct identity which attracts certain collective rights.”** This distinct identity of Southern Cameroonians is guided by their separate linguistic, ethnographic, anthropological, cultural, colonial, historical and territorial affinities.

The above excerpt is a clear illustration of what we said earlier on. In fact, Ozughen makes a reference to a an African union ruling which declared Southern Cameroonians to be a people as a great achievement in their fight for recognition. Then he goes on to say that the ruling is perfectly correct, as Southern Cameroonians have a distinct identity and share a lot, including geography, history and language. In other words, Ozughen is telling his audience that the African Union has actually recognised the fact that they are a distinct nation. Below are more examples of similar uses of “people”.

[93] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) Long Live the Determined Will of **the People of British Southern Cameroons** to be Masters of their Destiny .

[94] (Ngala Nfor 2012, letter to Marafa) In the name of **the Southern Cameroonian people**, I send to you our warm and fraternal greetings.

[95] (Gwang Gumne 2012, letter to Paul Biya) So what happened afterwards that your country went back on these declarations and used “the weight” of your population in 1972 to reverse the vote of **the people of Southern Cameroons** people for a Federal Union? What happened afterwards that your country became “annexationists”? (sic)

Though in a smaller proportion, the word “nation” is also used to describe Southern Cameroons. This is evidenced in the use of phrases such as “our (beloved) nation” (6 tokens) or “Southern Cameroons nation” (5 tokens) and “sovereign nation” (3 tokens). Overall, in many more of the 47 times “nation” appears in our pieces of discourse, it directly refers to Southern Cameroons. Some of its uses are found below:

[96] (Chief Ayamba 2010, 49th Anniversary Speech) I bring this to you as a sad but vivid reminder of our rich legacy which has been destroyed by the annexationist regimes of la Republique du Cameroun in attempt to destroy **our nation**, its rich cultural heritage and its democratic institutions.

[97] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd Anniversary Speech) Our faith in the youths, the students, as the budding force of **our nation**, the evident hope and engine of our future prosperity, the solid bridge between now and the future remains ever strong. This struggle is your struggle, the foundation of your greatness!

[98] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) Conscious of the fact that the permanent solution lies in de-annexation and restoration of a sovereign independent **Southern Cameroons nation** we call for unity and solidarity.

[99] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) As the Fathers of the **British Southern Cameroons Nation**, they must be concerned about the legacy they have to leave behind. Assimilation is modern slavery of body, soul and mind and this decapitates the natural man. The pace has been set and no group should be indifferent.

[100] (Gorji Dinka 2010, To the nation of Ambazonia) Today 10-10-10 marks twenty years since the proclamation formalizing the restoration of the independence of our country as a **sovereign nation of Ambazonia** was signed by me.

- **The nation is a family, Southern Cameroons is a family**

Southern Cameroonian independence leaders make use of family metaphors in order to foster assimilation and inclusion within the nation they aim at constructing. While analysing the

speeches making up our corpus, we realised that Southern Cameroons is often discussed as if it were a family. This Nation is a Family metaphor is very close to the Nation as a Person metaphor we studied in Catalan speeches as both aim at taking the nation away from the realm of abstract realities and use it in a way that will make more sense to the audience. The Southern Cameroonian nation is often perceived as a family where there are children and parents, be they fathers or mothers. The fathers here are male members of the Southern Cameroonian community, while mothers represent females Southern Cameroonians. This sustained metaphor is therefore a way of stating that no gender is left apart when it comes to fighting for the total emancipation of Southern Cameroons. Women and men have roles to play and do it in perfect synergy. As in a normal family, these parents are working together to make the nation achieve maturity. This metaphorical representation of the nation as a family is therefore not only an assimilation and inclusion strategy, but can also be interpreted as a unification and cohesivation strategy as the aim here is also to encourage other to play an active role as parents of the nation. By and large, the independence activists create a sense of emotional attachment between all members of the community. They are no longer individuals, but rather parents to the nation, that is, active partakers of the struggle to self-determination. Examples of such metaphors are found in excerpts 101 to 103 below:

[101] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) The students, youths, teachers, intellectuals and all people of Southern Cameroons in general should be proud of the historic action denouncing assimilation by the SW Chiefs Conference. **As the Fathers of the British Southern Cameroons Nation**, they must be concerned about the legacy they have to leave behind.

[102] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) Recalling that the existence of the South West as opposed to the North West is la Republique du Cameroun colonial product of divide and rule, we are reminded by our history that in the good old days of British Southern Cameroons all our Natural Rulers, **as fathers of the nation**, spoke with one voice in the interest of their people and their God-given heritage.

[103] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd anniversary speech) As for our women, **the mothers of our nation**, the staying- force of our dynamic cultural heritage, the future holds great for you, not only that never again shall you be traumatised by rape or by seeing your

son's skull blown by the bullet of the occupier, but that with a just and fair system your rightful place in decision making at whatever level is guaranteed.

The above being said, by using "people" and "nation" in relation to Southern Cameroons, nationalist leaders want to present the territory as a nation and therefore assimilate all its components within a greater Southern Cameroonian identity. Ethnic identities are no longer important here, and, as we saw under unification and cohesion strategies, there is no North-West or South-West identity within Southern Cameroons. Southern Cameroons is a people, or better still a nation

- **Southern Cameroonians share the same threat of assimilation**

One of the most important aims of Southern Cameroons independence activists is to express the fact that the problems faced by Southern Cameroons are shared by all citizens of that territory. As a matter of fact, at the same time they talk about how their territory has been marginalised since reunification with French-speaking Cameroon, Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders also indicate that they and their fellow countrymen do not have the same rights as the citizens of the French-Speaking part of Cameroon. According to Anglophone nationalists the major threat shared by all of them spans from their distinct linguistic and cultural identity. Let's consider excerpts 104 and 105 below:

[104] (Ngala Nfor, 2012, 51st Anniversary speech) For fifty-one years, spitefully treated as pre-adolescents and **second class citizens** who know not their rights, our best scientists, engineers, inventors, men and women of letters, have been ignored and denied their rightful place in society and in the golden book of great men, simply for their background.

[105] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) The Southern Cameroonian youth has been reduced to a **second class citizen** denied equal rights with citizens of la Republique du Cameroun. You have no equal rights to education. You have no equal rights to employment. You have no equal rights to promotion and appointment to head a department even if you were lucky to be employed. You have no equal rights to further studies even if you were better qualified. You have no equal rights to scholarship even scholarship from the Commonwealth.

Your parents had to fight to get the Buea University. They had to fight to get the GCE Board. They had to fight to get the Bamenda University. In these fights some shed blood, trekked long distances, spent sleepless nights, incurred hardship because they

wanted a better future for you their children. But today, these institutions, obtained at great cost, are being francophonised, assimilated, and dominated by Francophones under the meaningless concept of regional balance and national integration. The message is simple, we do not belong.

In the above quotes, Ngala Nfor indicates that all age groups in Southern Cameroons are marginalised by the Francophone-dominated administration. From what he says in 105, we can imply that Ngala Nfor suggests that the mere fact of speaking English in Cameroon predisposes one to be marginalised, to be considered as a second-class citizen as he puts it. According to the Anglophone nationalist, though his people have been fighting for the respect and even promotion of their distinct identities the Cameroon central government has always responded with more measures aimed at dominating, assimilating his people and *francophonising* them, Making all those who could not bear the situation seek refuge in other countries. As Ngala Nfor puts it, no Southern Cameroonian (or Anglophone) can belong in Cameroon where everything is done in French.

- **The exploitation and occupation of their territory affect them all**

In addition to the cultural threat the union with French-speaking Cameroon has posed, another important message that Anglophone nationalists want to convey is that the alleged colonisation of Southern Cameroons and the exploitation and looting of the territory's natural resources affects, not only the said freedom fighters, but the people of Southern Cameroons as a whole. To achieve this, they have to create two distinct groups of people who are expressed, not only with the toponyms and demonyms we presented earlier in this work, but also by the use of personal pronouns and possessives. As a matter of fact, these words can clearly help the audience differentiate between the in-groups and the out-groups. Let's consider the following examples:

[106] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st Anniversary Speech) For fifty-one years we have seen **our natural resources** plundered and looted at will while we wallow in abject misery and **our children** go hungry and the sick die in their numbers for lack of good medical facilities as the population is fed regularly on empty promises.

[107] (Ngala Nfor 2014, End-of-year Message) We must unite for the change we most need, change that will lift us out of the abyss of annexation, prolonged colonial domination and foreign rule and mindless exploitation that **keeps us in mass poverty** in the midst of plenty.

[108] (Ngala Nfor 2014, End-of-year Message) This will be a government at the service of the people to empower the people and not a government of exploiters, oppressors, torturers to dehumanise the people **we have suffered for more than half a century**.

In the above examples, Ngala Nfor Ngala's use of personal and possessive pronouns is clearly inclusive when talking about the fate of Southern Cameroonians in their union with the rest of Cameroon. Southern Cameroon's natural resources have been looted, all Southern Cameroonians are now suffering as a result of this. First person plural personal pronouns "we" and "us" as well as possessive "our" therefore demonstrate that the political leaders identify with the in-groups and aim at assimilating all members of the community. Given the above, we decided to thoroughly investigate the use of personal pronouns and possessives in the pieces of discourse we studied, as this will give us an insight into Southern Cameroonian leaders' construction of assimilation, inclusion as well as separation in an indirect manner.

The use of personal pronouns and possessive adjectives is very important when trying to present one's nation as homogeneous and perfectly harmonious. In Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse, just like in the Catalan speeches we studied, there is a clear desire on the part of nationalists leaders to present themselves as part of a majority of people who want to exercise their right to self-determination. Therefore, we realised that the speech and letter writers almost never use "I" except when talking about personal experiences. In most other situations, "we" is used. Statistics clearly evidence the foregoing, as "I" only appear 45 times throughout our corpus, while "we" appears 315 times. This situation is also true to object personal pronouns, as we noted that "us" is used much more than "me", as the former appears 104 times in our corpus while the latter only appears 19 times. Finally, our software investigation of possessives was another confirmation of the fact that nationalist leaders

always stand, not as individuals but as representatives of the people. More specifically, we decided to have a gander at the uses of “my” and “our” and as we predicted, the latter is used far more than the former. In fact, “my” appears 35 times throughout the corpus, while “our” is used 345 times. The foregoing is illustrated in Chart 5.3.

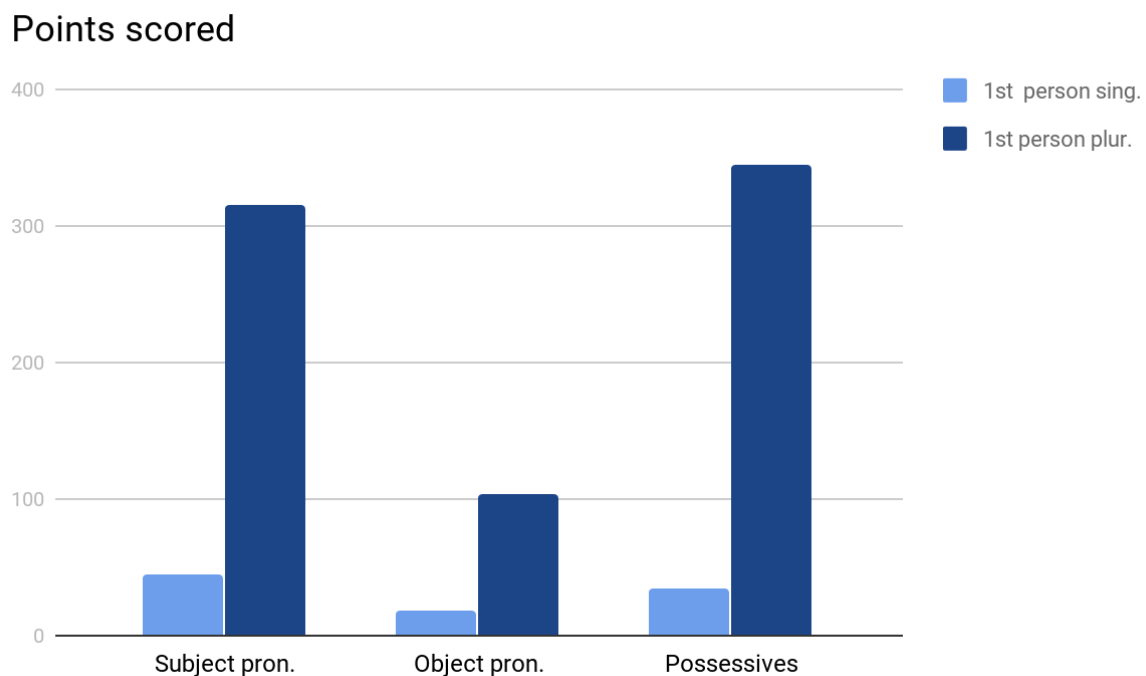


Chart 5.4. Personal pronouns and possessives

Considering the above, it goes without saying that Southern Cameroonian nationalists do everything possible to include all fellow citizens in their pieces of discourse. They want to identify with the people and want the people to identity with them. By overwhelmingly using the first person plural, they succeed to assimilate and include all Southern Cameroonians in the struggle for independence.

- **From Chilton’s perspective**

From a Discourse Space Model perspective, we can say that Southern Cameroonian nationalists describe themselves as close to the people, and by so doing, they convey the idea that they are not marginal groups, as claimed by the Yaoundé authorities, but representatives and spokespeople for the overwhelming majority of Southern Cameroonians. The following

sentences further illustrate the use of first person plural pronouns and possessives in order to foster the assimilation and inclusion of all Southern Cameroonians in the independence struggle. These examples are followed by a figure representing these pronouns from Chilton's perspective.

[109] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd Anniversary speech) As **we rise in unison** to commemorate this day, we renew **our** spirits and reaffirm our commitment to, under the eternal Lord of all creation and justice, through Nonviolence, fight for the freedom and independence of the Fatherland, British Southern Cameroons

[110] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Letter to the elite) **We** had to fight to get Buea University. In 2005 though there was a general strike in all state universities, it was only in Buea that gruesome impunities by forces of occupation were inflicted on the unarmed students. The evidence is that **we** do not belong and **our** children have no bright future under la Republique du Cameroun...

[111] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Nationality campaigns address) Yes, **ours** is a very resourceful enemy, but unlike in other cases, Cameroon has this very unique advantage of having taken full control of **our** peoples' minds thanks to the very important element **we** as the "several peoples" of Ambazonia have been negligent at appreciating.

[112] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Nationality campaigns address) Yes! **We** can free Ambazonia; Yes! **We** can then shout....**We** are Free!!! Free at last...FREE at last!

[113] (Gorji Dinka 2011, fear has changed sides) For a long time **we** have looked around for **our** own Thabo Mbeki or Jacob Zuma, but all **we** see on the internet is Babel of confusion.

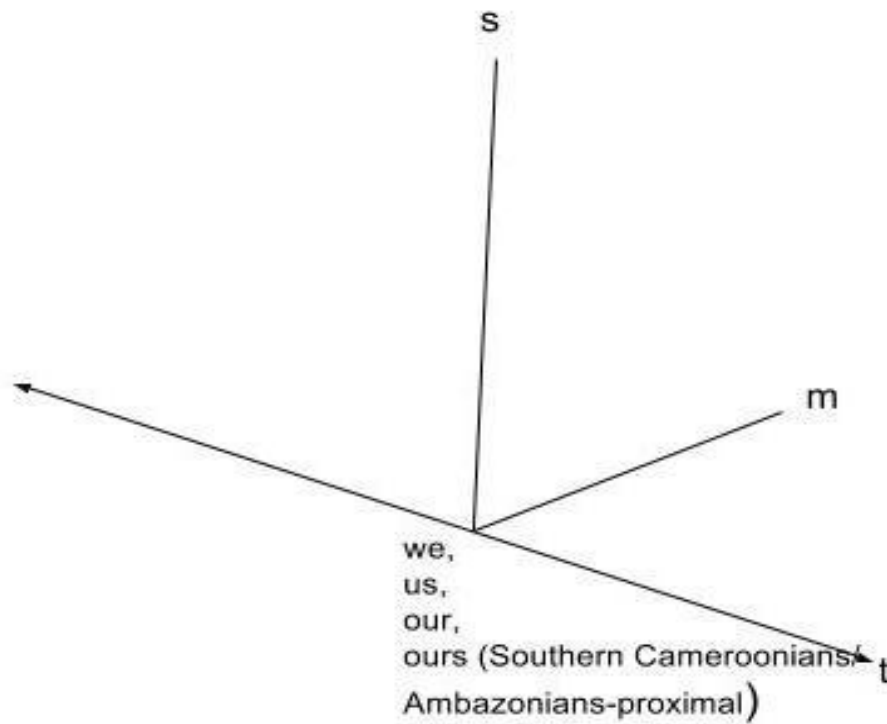


Figure 5.2. Personal pronouns and possessives in assimilation and inclusion (Southern Cameroons)

- **Southern Cameroons (and the liberation struggle) is a boat or a train**

In the different speeches and letters we studied, we realised that Southern Cameroonian leaders want to tell their audience that the people of Southern Cameroons are united, face the same difficulties and should therefore make independence their priority. To convince the people of such a fact, they often present their struggle as a boat whose passengers are the people of Southern Cameroons and which has independence as destination. This is shown in the excerpts below.

[114] (Chief Ayamba 2010, 49th Anniversary speech) While also paying glowing tribute to Southern Cameroonians in the diaspora for their constant financial support to **keep the liberation struggle afloat**, we appeal to fence sitters to remember that they should join their counterparts and also make generous contributions towards our freedom from enslavement.

[115] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention speech) This administration has **kept the revolutionary fervor of the liberation struggle afloat** with the numerous demonstrations and events that it has organized in places of historical import in the US.

[116] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention speech) I must recognize the unbridled commitment of the executive of SCNC North America and above all the members of SCNC North America who have been at the front and center of this struggle, **steering the ship**, at times, under inauspicious circumstances because of their firm belief that the moment is at hand to achieve this noble goal of liberation.

In the above examples, we can see that the people's support has made the struggle not sink, but remain afloat. In addition, in 116 Ozughen states that the North American branch of the SCNC has been steering the boat towards independence.

Finally, it is worth noting that when Southern Cameroonian leaders don't make use of the ship and boat metaphors, they resort to other means of transport such as the train. This metaphor is the same as the boat metaphor in the sense that it aims at presenting a certain unity in the struggle, while encouraging those who are lagging behind to join. Therefore, the Southern Cameroonian independence struggle is the train, the people of Southern Cameroons are supposed to be passengers, nationalists leaders are the activists and independence is the destination. The foregoing is illustrated in the examples below:

[117] (Chief Ayamba 2010, 49th anniversary speech) We call upon these stooges and bootlickers to join **the freedom train** early enough and contribute their quarter towards the liberation struggle or to be forever condemned by the court of history when the hour of reckoning comes.

[118] (Ngala Nfor 2013, end-of-year message) British Southern Cameroons **independence train** may be slow but it will certainly reach its destination.

[119] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd Anniversary speech) To hasten our liberation, I call on all of us to sink whatever differences exist. Focus on the bigger picture! Jump on the **liberation train** and let us unite for national restoration and glory.

[120] (Ngala Nfor 2013, end-of-year message) British Southern Cameroons **independence train** may be slow but it will certainly reach its destination.

To conclude this part, we may say that as Wodak stated in her categorisation, means of transport are used by Southern Cameroonian leaders to present their people as united and also call for more cohesion amongst them. It is worth noting that this strategy was also identified

in Catalan speeches, and is another evidence of the discursive similarities that exist between the Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence movements.

5.4.2 The struggle for self-determination is built on what early independence activists did (continuation)

One of the most important set of strategies in all nationalist pieces of discourse are continuation strategies, whereby nationalist leaders will always suggest that they are just taking over from their predecessors who started building the nation they aim at consolidating or bringing to life. This phenomenon, which was observed in the pieces of discourse from Catalonia, is definitely true of Southern Cameroonian nationalist speeches. Continuation strategies are therefore enforced in discourse by nomination and predication strategies, as well as argumentation. To begin with nomination and predication strategies, it is worth noting the fact that the precursors of Anglophone nationalists are often presented as prophets and given other positive attributes. Storytelling and reference to historical figures or events are argumentative strategies which mainly fall within the topoi of history as a teacher and continuation, both aiming at telling the audience that the current nationalist leaders are just taking over from other people who were intelligent enough to foretell the negative fate Southern Cameroonians would experience after reunification. The foregoing notwithstanding, we may point here the fact that the Southern Cameroonian nation is quite a recent social construct and current political leaders are part of the second or third generation of self-determination activists. Therefore, continuation strategies here may not be as strong as those experiences in Catalan discourse.

As we saw in Chapter 2, Southern Cameroons as a distinct territorial entity came to life only about a century ago. As a matter of fact, it is after the 1919 Versailles Treaty which put an end to World War I that the border between the French-administered territory and British-administered territory of the former German protectorate were demarcated. Even after that

demarcation, British Southern Cameroons was administered as a mere part of the greater Eastern Nigeria region, but gradually started experiencing marginalisation within the Eastern Nigerian House, which made them embrace and start consolidating their identity. This period marked the formation of two fronts within Southern Cameroons; a front made up of those those who identified as Cameroonians and were willing to reunify with their French-speaking neighbours and those who solely identified as British Southern Cameroonians and wanted anything to do with neither Nigeria nor French Cameroon. Though the members of the latter are often praised as visionaries (see below), all historical figures who pushed for the recognition of Southern Cameroons as a people distinct from the people of Eastern Nigeria are often praised as the founding fathers of Anglophone nationalism and the people who actually started the struggle which current Anglophone nationalists are trying to push forward.

Even though, as we mentioned before, what we currently know as Southern Cameroonian nationalism is not as old as Catalan nationalism, Southern Cameroonian leaders do make use of continuation strategies. To begin with, Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders make references to past politicians, especially those who advocated for the formation of a Southern Cameroonian nation and tell stories of the exploits of the said historical figures. These historical figures are often presented in a very positive manner, which therefore contributes to giving a face lift to the current struggle.

- **The past personalities who struggled for Southern Cameroons independence were prophets**

The first continuation strategy we would like to mention here is the idea that past personalities of Southern Cameroons were visionaries and accurately predicted what Southern Cameroons would face after reunification. That is why back then, and against all odds, they embarked on a struggle for self-determination. This strategy used by the leaders,

whose pieces of discourse are being studied not only aim at presenting the current struggle as a continuation of what these visionaries started, but also aim at telling the people of Southern Cameroons to emulate what was done before in order for the struggle to continue. The first generation of Southern Cameroonian nationalists knew that their territory could only be prosperous if it achieved complete independence, that is why they stood against unification with Nigeria or Cameroons. Nevertheless, they were not always understood by their people who fell victims to the predicaments that had been predicted. Therefore, today's nationalism, according to its proponents, is just a way of continuing what these leaders started, while learning from past mistakes.

[121] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message)...we are reminded by our history that in the good old days of British Southern Cameroons all our Natural Rulers, as fathers of the nation, spoke with one voice in the interest of their people and their God-given heritage. At the Mamfe Plebiscite Conference of May 1959, for example, when Fon Achirimbi declared that Nigeria is “Water” and French Cameroun is “FIRE” his **prophetic voice** was on behalf of all the Natural Rulers.

[122] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) Thus as if to remind us of Dr Endeley's **prophetic predictions** which have all come to pass and declaration that French Cameroun was not independent but a colony of France, consequently British Southern Cameroons shall know no freedom and enjoy no independence if the plebiscite vote favoured joining them, in 1992 the master angry with the intruder, Nchinda, for wishing to sit on the throne, declared ‘an English man can never rule a French Province.

We can interpret the use of the adjective “prophetic” in examples 121 and 122 above as evidence of intertextuality. As a matter of fact, from a Christian perspective, prophets are Biblical characters who often foretold events and guided the people. What's more, the writings of prophets who lived thousands of years ago are still used as authoritative material by many modern day Christians. Thus, the above examples suggest that though they are no longer alive, the precursors of Anglophone nationalism are the brains of the current struggle. These leaders are thus constantly praised in Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse.

The praise of fallen heroes is also underpinned by nomination and predication strategies as well as the topos of history as a teacher. By referring to fallen heroes, Southern cameroonian

independence fighters aim at telling their fellow citizens that even if there were no reasons to continue fighting, these fallen heroes' memories should still be honoured. This is exemplified in the following excerpts.

[123] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st Anniversary speech) Today as we stand in solemn Commemoration of the same historic event, we sadly register the absence of **great comrade Fidelis Chinkwo**, former Secretary General, who like an army general led the march at Mile 17. Like his fellow Comrade, Prince Mbinglo Humphrey and others before, Dr Martin N. Luma, Ambassador Martin Epie, Albert W. Mukong, Regina Mankefor, Hon. P. P. Nkwenti, Philip Tete, George Shinyuy, Patrick Mbunwe, Daniel Ndifon, among others, who, in the hands of the enemy sacrificed and paid the supreme prize for our FREEDOM, **we shall forever remember and honour them by remaining faithful to the cause for freedom and sovereign independence**. May we observe a minute of silence for all our fallen heroes and heroines! Amen!

[124](Ngala Nfor 2014, End-of-year message) Under white colonial rule we had the likes of Fon Achirimbi, Chief Nyenti, P.M. Kale and those who declared Benevolent Neutrality in Nigerian politics and gave up their rights and privileges remain green in our minds. These are **great leaders, patriots, nationalists, heroes; men of valour whose examples should inspire us rise and act resolutely to put an end to our statelessness**.

[125] (Ambeazieh 2011, letter to Ban ki Moon) Mr. John Fru Ndi and his cohorts in the S.D.F National Executive Committee (N E C), an illegal political party approved by a distinct country — the Annexationist Government of La Republique du Cameroun operating very illegally in the territory of the Southern Cameroons should know that His Excellency, **Dr. John Ngu Foncha of blessed memory**, Prime Minister and the Head of the Government of the Southern Cameroons in June, 1995 went to the United Nations and filed a Petition Against the very illegal Annexation of the Territory...

From the above examples, it goes without saying that the message being conveyed is that the people being named actively fought for the restoration of Southern Cameroons as a state and left that project in the hands of the current leaders who are striving to continue with it and make it come true. These fallen heroes have been a source of inspiration to Southern Cameroonian not only because of their actions, but also by dint of the predictions they made about Southern Cameroons. Just like in epic literature, Southern Cameroonian independence activists never refrain from talking about the exploits of those early independence activists while giving them very positive attributes. They were not only visionaries and prophets, but also great leaders and patriots whose stance and actions are being emulated by the current

leaders. The Southern Cameroons independence struggle is therefore an ongoing project which was transmitted to the present generation of freedom fighters by their predecessors. This struggle is a legitimate and legal undertaking which can be justified using a thousand and one reasons. This is exactly what the next heading is going to be all about.

To conclude this part, we may say that assimilation and inclusion strategies in Southern Cameroonian independence discourse mostly aim at consolidating the difference between in-group and out-group members while making sure that the ingroups are presented as perfectly homogeneous. This is achieved in discourse by nomination and predication strategies which build on lexical choice, the pronominal use and metaphor. As concerns continuation, it is enforced through the use positive characterisation (nomination and predication strategies), intertextuality, storytelling or historical references (argumentation).

5.5 Justification strategies

“The independence of British Southern Cameroons is non-negotiable as it is ordained above and it is in conformity with international instruments. Restoration is an Urgency of Now!”³⁵

Justification in political discourse analysis is a set of strategies whose objectives are to enforce political decisions and consolidate a specific rulership (Chilton, 2004:46). In other words, politicians cannot enjoin their fellow compatriots to act a certain way if the said compatriots have not been previously educated on how important, useful, legitimate and legal are the actions they are encouraged to carry out. In national identity speeches, legitimisation often aims at justifying the construction of the nation state. Such justification is directed at in-group members as well as other stakeholders who may in one way or another support the in-group members in their attempts at constructing and fossilising their nation.

When it comes to Southern Cameroonian nationalist speeches and open letters, it appears that justification strategies play a very important part in the overall discursive presentation of the

³⁵ Ngala Nfor 2013, End of year speech

the plight of Southern Cameroonians. To be more specific, Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders resort to various argumentation schemes to justify their right to self determination and emancipation. These argumentation schemes, which encompass the use of topoi like comparison, history as a teacher, justice and equality, religion as well as human rights, are backed by strategies such as intertextuality and storytelling. These are summarised in Table 5.6 below.

| Contents | Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|---|---|---|---|
| Southern Cameroons' struggle is backed by law | Nomination and predication, topos of legality, | Lexemes indicating illegality, Intertextuality, reference to authorities | Illegal, Art. 102 of the UN Charter , UNGA Resolution 1608 of April 21, 1961, HE Bharat Joshi, Art. 4(b) of the AU Constitutive Act, uti possedetis juris |
| Southern Cameroons is in a State of colonialism and annexation | Nomination and Predication, Topos of Comparison | Lexemes relating to colonialism and imperialism | imperial propaganda, annexation , foreign occupation, colonialism, colonial occupation, |
| Southern Cameroonians are facing the threat of cultural and linguistic assimilation | Nomination, predication, topos of human rights, | Linguistic categorisation (Francophone/Anglo phone), storytelling, examples, statistics | Francophones, Anglophones, Frenchification, Francophonised |
| Southern Cameroonians constantly experience human rights' abuse | Topos of human rights, topos of comparison | Vivid storytelling, strong verbs, reference to apartheid | arrested, tortured, detained, brutalised, murdered in cold blood, neo-apartheid |
| Southern Cameroons' natural resources are exploited | Topos of comparison | Storytelling, examples, statistics | |
| Southern Cameroons' struggle | Nomination and predication | Reference to God, positive | Children of God, God's will, God on |

| | | | |
|---------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| is a divine mission | strategies. Topos of religion, topos of threat | characterisation, intertextuality | our side, Children of Israel's journey to the Promise Land |
|---------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|

Table 5.6. Justification strategies

- **Legitimacy and legality**

Before moving any further, it is worthy to bring out a little difference between legality and legitimacy. Something is said to be legal when it is backed by law and a number of authoritative texts which can be quoted or referred to in order to justify a given situation. Legitimacy refers to situation where what is being fought for abides by universally shared principles of ethics, that is, something which is (thought to be) fair and morally acceptable, even in situations where it may not explicitly backed by law. As a matter of fact, not everything which is legally accepted is legitimate. For instance, it would be hard to state that Hitler's extermination of jews was legitimate even though it was perfectly legal in Nazi Germany. Other historical events such as slavery, colonialism and the Apartheid were at one point in time perfectly legal, but were never legitimate despite the fact that the governments that enforced them might have wanted to legitimise these situations (by legalising them for example). Southern Cameroonian independence activists consider their struggle to be both a legal and legitimate undertaking. It is legal because it abides by the principles of international (and even domestic) law and it is legitimate because common sense and religion advocate the liberation of oppressed people. These shall be thoroughly discussed below.

5.5.1 Southern Cameroons' independence struggle is backed by law, it is legal

One of the most important justification strategies found throughout our speeches and open letters are those aimed at bringing out the fact that by law, Southern Cameroon and "La Republique du Cameroun" are two distinct entities. An concordance analysis of the word "illegal" led us to realise that all the 10 tokens of "illegal" in our corpus refer to the Cameroon presence in Southern Cameroons, its administration or any organisation which it

recognises. This is evidence of the fact that nomination and predication are also used to justify to independence struggle.

Southern Cameroonian leaders are well aware of the fact that they can win support both at home and abroad only if they prove that their plight is justifiable by dint of legal documents. So they build their legal argument on two major pillars, namely the absence of any treaty sanctioning the reunification of French and British Cameroons and the right of Southern Cameroonians under International Law to self determination.

- **Southern Cameroon's union with French Cameroon is not sanctioned by any legal text**

Jurists often make use of two latin expressions to make a clear distinction between two types of situations that may arise in practice. Some situations are therefore described as *de jure* and others labelled as *de facto*. The former is used to describe a situation whose nature has been clearly described and sanctioned by law while the latter describes a situation which has not been provided by law but rather came as a result of practice. Based on the foregoing, Southern Cameroonian independence activists believe that the union between their territory and French Cameroon is a *de facto* situation since it has no legal foundation. This is exactly what transpires from the excerpts below.

[126] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd Anniversary Speech) But as we all know **there is no treaty of union or any legal instrument binding British Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun**. Under international law any instrument binding distinct peoples and nations is not a matter discussed and resolved in “a mbuh house”, beer parlor, at sumptuous dinner tables with beautiful smiling ladies, whatever may be the caliber of leaders concerned. Such an instrument must fulfill conditions set out in **Art. 102 of the UN Charter**: it must be written and signed by the parties concerned and published by UN.

[127] (Ngala Nfor 2015, message to students) 5. That **there is no legal union** between la Republique du Cameroun and British Southern Cameroons because no treaty of union in conformity with **Art. 102 of the UN Charter** exist at the UN Secretariat in New York. 6. That the plebiscite that was held in British Southern Cameroons on February 11, 1961 was not a declaration of union with la Republique du Cameroun and no document was signed in Fouban.

[128] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) **UNGA Resolution 1608 of April 21, 1961** was never implemented thus no union in conformity with **UN Charter Art. 102** and international norms was formed between British Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun.

[129] (Ngala Nfor 2013, End-of-year message) The overwhelming result of these conferences and debates was a shocking boomerang effect as they all concluded that there **was no UNION TREATY between** la Republique du Cameroun and British Southern Cameroons. Consequently, no legal instrument binds the two distinct nations and peoples together.

[130] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention speech) That argument can obviously be eviscerated with incontrovertible evidence that the union was not sanctioned by any legal instrument like a Treaty of Union signed between the two entities. **No such treaty was signed by the two parties and registered at the UN Secretariat in compliance with Article 102 of the UN Charter.**

[131] (Ambeazieh 2010, letter to Ban ki Moon) Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement hereby reminds the international Community — The United Nations and the Southern Cameroonians that, the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun are two very distinct Entities — Nations, and **there is No Legal Union Treaty** between them except the very **illegal** annexation of the Southern Cameroons by La Republique du Cameroun.

Southern Cameroonian nationalists will not just make empty claims. Instead they will even resort to authorities to prove their point. First of all, they make reference to Article 102 of the UN charter which is as follows.

Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations³⁶.

Based on the above, Southern Cameroonian nationalists argue that given that both Southern Cameroon and French Cameroons were UN trust territories, the absence of any UN registered treaty of union between both territory puts into question the very existence of such a union. In fact, they think that the Republic of Cameroon's presence in Southern Cameroons can only be described as illegal under international law.

³⁶ <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-xvi/> (accessed on 11/07/2017)

In addition to referring to legal documents in order to justify the illegality of the union by dint of the absence of any document binding it, Southern Cameroonian independence activist also make reference to human authorities like the United Kingdom's High Commissioner to Cameroon who, in excerpt 132 from Ngala Nfor Ngala's 2013 end of year speech, is said to be aware of the inexistence of a legal document binding British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon.

[132] And most importantly confirming the consistent SCNC Position and the historic and legal truth, **HE Bharat Joshi, the UK High Commissioner to la Republique** in his monthly Press Conference of June 2013 in Yaoundé, stated categorically that he "has never seen any official document that binds the former British Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun.

By stating the above, Southern Cameroonian nationalists suggest that their territory should have never been part of Cameroon in the first place and that the current situation is tantamount to colonialism and annexation. The ideas of colonialism and annexation (Which will be discussed subsequently) are again based on legal documents which were to address territorial disputes in post colonial Africa. All these legal documents are based on the principle of the intangibility of frontiers inherited from colonisation. Under this principle, all territories achieving independence have to maintain the boundaries of their territory as it was during the colonial period and only make changes to the territory after signing a treaty. The intangibility principle the direct consequence of the *uti possidetis juris* principle, an International Law principle that has mostly been applied to contexts of decolonisation in a bid to settle disputes that may arise between countries over certain territories. This principle, which was first invoked in Latin America has been referred to in various African countries to put an end to conflicts such as those opposing Burkina Faso to Mali or Senegal to Guinea Bissau. Dirdeiry Ahmed (2015) thoroughly studies this principle and the ways it has been applied in Africa.

Based on the above principle, Southern Cameroonians then move further to argue that Southern Cameroons and La republique du Cameroon were two distinct territories from the outset, and this is why they achieved their independence on separate dates, as shown in the excerpts below:

[133] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) That when French Cameroun became independent on January 1, 1960 and joined UN Membership in September of same year, British Southern Cameroons was not part of and that by **Art. 4(b) of the AU Constitutive Act** and international law once a country becomes independent its international boundaries can never change again. La Republique du Cameroun is the successor state of le Camerounais Français.

[134] (Ngala Nfor 2015, End-of-year message) British Southern Cameroons by international law is not and can never become an integral part of la Republique du Cameroun whose boundaries by the principle of international jurisprudence of **uti possedetis juris** and critical date became inviolable and immutable on January 1, 1960. **The AU Constitutive Act, Art. 4(b)** upholds and defends this legal instrument. The right to the existence of nation states in accordance with inherited colonial boundaries is a matter of law and not political propaganda and sloganeering.

[135] (Ngala Nfor 2012, Letter to Marafa) Without doubt it affirms the incontrovertible fact of two distinct Cameroons in conformity with boundary treaties inherited at independence which according to the principle of international jurisprudence of *uti possedetis juris* and the critical date and the **AU Constitutive Act, Art. 4(b)** remains immutable and inviolable. That is the international law which is superior to national or municipal law.

[136] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention Speech) It is anchored on **Article 4(b) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union** which in time and space is one of the international treaties that the African Commission is habilitated to implement. Broadly speaking, in communication 337, the state of Southern Cameroons is asking the African Commission to declare the Republic of Cameroon to be in violation of the constitutive act of the African Union with respect to the westward expansion of the international boundary of the Republic of Cameroons to include former UN Trust territory of the Southern Cameroons.

From the excerpts above, it is clear that Southern Cameroonian nationalists believe that Cameroon violated the *uti posseditis* principle as reproduced in the Constitutive Act of the African Union. As a matter of fact, article 4(b) of the African Union's legal bedrock

stipulates that “The Union shall function in accordance with the following principles: - b) respect of borders existing on achievement of independence.”³⁷

What’s more, according to some Southern Cameroonian nationalists, even domestic law in Cameroon suggests Southern Cameroons is not part of “La république du Cameroun”. This argument can be seen as a fallacy given the fact that a state’s laws cannot stand against the very existence of that state. Nevertheless, one of the many independence activists from Southern Cameroons we are studying in this write-up goes to the point of saying that even domestic Law can be used against the State of Cameroon and confirm the latter’s occupation of Southern Cameroons. Actually, Gorji Dinka makes references to a series of legal decisions and interprets them in a way that legitimises Southern Cameroonians’ struggle for independence. For instance, according to Gorji Dinka, President Ahidjo decision to change Cameroon’s official appellation from “The United Republic of Cameroon” to the “Republic of Cameroon” (the English translation of the Former French territory) automatically excluded Southern Cameroons from the country. Interpretations of domestic Law in Cameroon in a way that supports the Southern Cameroonian struggle for independence are found in 137 below.

[137] (Fon Gorji Dinka 2010, Address to the nation) a) The demise of the Union (called United Republic of Cameroon) and the automatic resurrection of the French Cameroun and English Cameroons that had been rendered extinct by **the merger of 1st October 1961**.

b) **The judgment of the Cameroon Military Tribunal** that Ambazonia is not part of the Republic of Cameroon and therefore the call for Cameroon to get out of Ambazonia is a call for enforcement of law 84/01

c) **The judgment of the Cameroon High Court Bamenda HCB/28/92** ordering all elements of Cameroon authority to get out of Ambazonia.

If the unity between Southern Cameroons and *La république du Cameroun* is illegal and such illegality is even backed by international and domestic law, then for Anglophone nationalists,

³⁷ <http://www1.uneca.org/Portals/ngm/Documents/Conventions%20and%20Resolutions/constitution.pdf>
(accessed on 11/07/2017)

the people of Southern Cameroons have the right to fight for their independence and more so because they are living a situation of human rights violation and oppression which can only be likened to colonialism or other situations such as apartheid..

Apart from the more logical argument which we have seen above, the leaders of the Southern Cameroonian independence struggle do also resort to an appeal to emotions in order to justify the need for their territory to achieve political freedom. As a matter of fact through storytelling and comparison they present the fate of their people to the world and make sure they let their audience see how serious the situation is. The first argument on which this is based is the fact that Southern Cameroons is in a state of colonialism and annexation by the French-speaking territory of Cameroon. This definitely spans from the legal argument supported by these nationalists, and whose underlying principle is the fact that Southern Cameroons and “La republique du Cameroun” are two distinct political entities and two different nations.

5.5.2 Southern Cameroons is in a state of annexation and colonialism by an imperialist state called “Cameroun”

As the ending lines of the previous paragraph suggest, one of the recurring themes in the speeches and letters we studied is the fact that Southern Cameroons is facing colonialism from another African state, namely la Republique du Cameroun. This idea relies on two strategies, namely nomination and predication strategies as well as argumentation strategies, that is the use of the topos of comparison. Nomination and predication strategies are characterised by the use of lexemes aimed at describing Cameroon as a colonial country while the topos of comparison is used to liken the Southern Cameroon’s plight to that of countries which experienced colonialism. Again the overall aim here is to convince both Southern Cameroonians and the international community that Southern Cameroons must be free. To better understand how these strategies are enforced in discourse, it is worth having a

look back at scholarly definitions of colonialism and imperialism. As Horvarth (1972: 47) states, colonialism refers to the domination of one group by another which is characterised by the permanent migration of people from the colonising power to the colony. Colonialism is very close to imperialism which also involves domination of one group by another, but does not always lead to the massive migration of people to the subjected territory. Both colonialism and imperialism imply the exploitation of a territory and attempts at assimilating the indigenes of the territory, that is, making them forego their native language and other cultural habits in order to embrace those of the colonising or imperialistic power. Colonialism has had positive or negative connotations throughout history, depending on whether the people describing it were the colonisers or the colonised. Nevertheless, Horvarth states clearly that in the Third World people unanimously agree on “the evils of colonialism-the colonial past and neocolonial present” (47). Finally, according to the principles of self-determination and self rule which are backed by international law, colonialism is an illegal situation because it strips people of their inalienable right to decide on their future. Therefore, when Southern Cameroonian independence activists say their country is being colonised by French Cameroon, they are in other words condemning an illegal situation under international law and principles. Let’s consider the following examples:

[138] (Ngwang Gumne 2012, letter to Paul Biya) The Southern Cameroons People’s Organization (SCAPO) is a political Party in Southern Cameroons working to end the **annexation and foreign occupation** of Southern Cameroons since 1961.

[139] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st Anniversary Speech) We are determined to pick our lives from the abyss of **annexation** and like one awarded a first degree, B.A, (Begin Again) assume our deserved station within the comity of sovereign nations and free peoples.

[140] (Ngala Nfor 2015, end-of-year message) It is in this light that we salute the new awakening, the nationalistic consciousness in the Common Law Lawyers, the Teachers Union, the Commonwealth Journalists Association and the Natural Rulers, among others, that is tearing down the masque, dismantling the Yaoundé **imperial propaganda** and exposing la Republique du Cameroun annexation and colonial occupation of a former UN Trust territory in the 21st century.

[141] (Ambeazieh 201, letter to Ban Ki Moon) That no Diplomat should visit or pay attention, sympathize with any illegal Political Party Leader of La Republique du Cameroun in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons in West Africa. If such a visit is made, the visiting Diplomat will be considered by the Council as Projecting and supporting the **illegal annexation** of the Southern Cameroons by La Republique du Cameroun, contrary to the U N's Principle of Self Determination.

From the examples above, we can see that “annexation” is a word that Southern Cameroonian nationalists often use to describe the union of their territory with the former French colony of Cameroon. As a matter of fact, our software search of the word “annexation” yielded the identification of 33 tokens of the word, which all refer (directly or indirectly) to the what Southern Cameroons experienced in 1961 when it became part of the Republic of Cameroon. Since that union was not backed by any treaty and that Southern Cameroon was allegedly annexed by the former French colony, Southern Cameroonian independence activists believe that their territory is in a state of colonial occupation. This is actually why the word “annexation” is often contiguous with words or phrases such as “colonial occupation”, “colonialism”, “foreign occupation” as illustrated in the excerpts below:

[142] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention speech) The kind of passion that has triggered Mr. Jerome Lambo to continually donate generously to the SCNC North America because of his firm conviction that for Southern Cameroonians to break off from the yoke of **annexation and colonialism** money is needed to lubricate the wheels of the struggle.

[143] (Ngwang Gumne 2012, Letter to Paul Biya) The Southern Cameroons People’s Organization (SCAPO) is a political Party in Southern Cameroons working to end the **annexation and foreign occupation** of Southern Cameroons since 1961.

[144] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st anniversary speech) For fifty-one years have we suffered all the indignities under the **annexation and colonial occupation** of La Republique du Cameroun.

[145] (Ngala Nfor 2012, letter to Marafa) Since 2009 when the ruling on Communication 266/2003, your Government with impunity has ignored the Constructive Dialogue under the good offices of the ACHPR and instead is intensifying its colonial occupation. Does this not confirm la Republique du Cameroun’s **annexation and colonial occupation** of one distinct Cameroon by another?

[146] (Ngala Nfor 2013, end-of-year message) SCNC struggle is against humanity’s number one enemy, namely, **annexation and colonialism** in all forms and

manifestations. We do not hate citizens of la Republique du Cameroun. Nevertheless, we totally and uncompromisingly reject their system, which they have imposed on us as an **annexed and colonized** people. This system has subjected us into servitude and made our land their farm for naked plunder.

[147] (Ngala Nfor 2013, end-of-year message) SCNC's mission, **like that of the ANC** in South Africa, is to give potent voice to the legitimate claims of the **annexed, colonially occupied, the foreign dominated and disenfranchised** British Southern Cameroonians.

[148] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Message to students) You are stateless and have no future because your Fatherland, God's given heritage, British Southern Cameroons, has been **annexed and colonially occupied** by la Republique du Cameroun.

[149] (Ngala Nfor 2015, end-of-year message) With botched decolonisation, consequent upon international colonial conspiracy against all principles of international law and legitimate expressed aspirations of the people in 1961 Southern Cameroons was simply abandoned for **the annexation and colonial occupation** of la Republique du Cameroun.

To make sure they convince their audience of the fact that Southern Cameroons has been annexed, exploited and colonised by former French Cameroon, Southern Cameroonian leaders will resort to telling stories and giving examples to illustrate their point. These stories and examples include the linguistic and cultural assimilation of English-speaking Cameroonians, human right abuses carried out against the Southern Cameroonian people and Southern Cameroons' economic abandonment and the exploitation its natural resources. These are discussed below.

5.5.3 Southern Cameroonians are facing the threat of linguistic and cultural assimilation

This idea is very close to the preceding one, which aimed at stating that Southern Cameroons is colonially occupied. The threat of linguistic and cultural assimilation is based on nomination and predication strategies as well as the topoi of human rights. Nomination strategies are aimed at constructing two distinct categories, namely the Francophone, who comes to Southern Cameroons with his distinct language and culture, and the Anglophone, who cannot speak English freely in a territory which is supposed to be English-speaking. The

topoi of human rights mainly aim at relating linguistic and cultural domination to human right abuse. These strategies are illustrated in discourse by the use of diction, storytelling, where specific examples and statistics are often given. It is widely accepted that people have the right speak their language and maintain their customs, therefore this alleged cultural and linguistic threat becomes a powerful tool in attempting to gain support from the international community. It is no wonder that English, which is also a colonial language is emphasized as one the most important markers of the Southern Cameroonian distinct identity. As a matter of fact, emphasizing local languages would not work, since they are often spoken on both sides of the colonial divide. Moreover, the British are no longer a threat to Southern Cameroonian independence activists but rather a potential partner which could mount pressure for Southern Cameroons' independence. The following excerpts describe the linguistic assimilation of Southern Cameroonians.

[150] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) Though the refinery – SONARA (French acronym) is built in Victoria, management and staffing is dominated by **Francophone**. Since creation no Southern Cameroonian has ever been a General Manager and the **lingua franca there is French**.

[151] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) HTTC Kumba and professional schools of the Bamenda University are flooded with **Francophone teachers** and students some **who cannot communicate in good English**. A **Francophone** on teaching practice entered the class in Bamenda and commanded the student, "Sweep the board!" The student responded, "I don't have a broom, Sir." Competitive exams for recruitment are either set in French or are deliberately poorly translated to deny British Southern Cameroons a fair chance.

[152] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) **More than 95%** of administrative, military, security, lands and surveys, finance institution posts in Southern Cameroons **are manned by Francophone thus making French the official language in offices**. This facilitates oppression, exploitation and assimilation of the people. National unity and integration is euphemism for consolidation of annexation.

[153] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) Mutengene, Police College opened by British Southern Cameroons Government in 1958 **has been francophonised and is heavily dominated by Francophone staff and students**.

[154] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) As a deliberate step to abolishing the **Common Law jurisdiction and imposing the Napoleonic code**, the courts in British Southern Cameroons are flooded with **Francophone magistrates** steeped in the Civil

Law system who insist that submissions be made in French. **Bilingualism is euphemism for frenchification.**

In the above examples, we can see how Ngala Nfor Ngala clearly illustrates the fact that Southern Cameroons' English-speaking identity is being threatened by the overwhelming presence of people from the French-speaking territory (administrators, students, etc.) and on Southern Cameroonian soil. In 152 above, he resorts to statistics, stating that over 95 % of civil servants in Southern Cameroons are French-speaking, thus making it difficult for the people to interact or even identify with the administration.

As far as cultural assimilation is concerned, two issues appear over and over again in Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse, namely education and law. As with language, ethnic cultures are left out here because they are often the same, be it in former French Cameroon or in Southern Cameroons. Despite unification with French Cameroon, Southern Cameroons has maintained a different legal and educational systems. In other words, Cameroon is one of the few united and centralised countries where there are two coexisting and geographically segregated (in the case of law) educational and legal systems, namely the British and French systems. Nevertheless, the survival of the English system of education and the British Common Law has been threatened given the rule of the French-speaking majority and attempts at uniformisation in education and law. Let's consider the following examples.

[155] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) **HTTC Kumba and professional schools of the Bamenda University are flooded with Francophone teachers** and students some who cannot communicate in good English. A Francophone on teaching practice entered the class in Bamenda and commanded the student, "Sweep the board!" The student responded, "I don't have a broom, Sir." Competitive exams for recruitment are either set in French or are deliberately poorly translated to deny British Southern Cameroons a fair chance.

[156] (Ngala Nfor 2015, message to students) **Your parents had to fight to get the Buea University. They had to fight to get the GCE Board. They had to fight to get the Bamenda University.** In these fights some shed blood, trekked long distances, spent sleepless nights, incurred hardship because they wanted a better future for you their children. But today, these institutions, obtained at great cost, are being

francophonised, assimilated, and dominated by Francophones under the meaningless concept of regional balance and national integration.

[157] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) **As a deliberate step to abolishing the Common Law jurisdiction and imposing the Napoleonic code, the courts in British Southern Cameroons are flooded with Francophone magistrates** steeped in the Civil Law system who insist that submissions be made in French. Bilingualism is euphemism for frenchification.

[158] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to students) The deliberate action taken by Yaoundé to destroy **the Common Law and our Anglo Saxon educational system** is aimed at erasing British Southern Cameroons from the map of Africa.

[159] (Ngala Nfor 2015, end-of-year message) The destruction of **our Anglo Saxon educational system** is sending a sharp knife through the core of our inherent identity.

As the above excerpts show, the destruction of the Common Law and the British educational system in Southern Cameroons is allegedly the result of the recruitment of francophones and their posting to English speaking institutions. This situation is exemplified in 155 by the story of a teacher who could not properly speak english and got corrected by one of his students. This cultural assimilation also contributes to making independence a priority because, according to nationalist leaders, things will only get worse if Southern Cameroons doesn't achieve independence.

5.5.4 Southern Cameroonians constantly experience human rights' abuse

This is another very important idea used by Southern Cameroonian nationalists to persuade their national and international audience that something needs to be done in order to set the people free. It is deeply grounded in the topoi of human rights and comparison. Nationalist leaders would rely heavily on storytelling to talk about specific human right violations carried out by the Francophone-dominated regime. Moreover they go further to compare their people's plight to that of the black majority in South Africa during the Apartheid regime.

[160] (Chief Ayamba 2010, 49th anniversary speech) While asserting our right to celebrate 1st October 2001 as our 40th Independence anniversary, the cream of SCNC leadership was arrested, brutalized, tortured and incarcerated for long periods. Prior to that date, the occupation forces of la Republique du Cameroun had orchestrated a diabolical plot in 1997 during which they **arrested** several dozens of Southern Cameroonians in the so-called "terrorist attacks" carried out sporadically in parts of

Southern Cameroons. They were later transferred to Yaounde where they faced a military tribunal **which tried them in French, an alien language they did not understand. Some were sentenced to life imprisonment while others received long jail/sentence for crimes they didn't commit.**

Most of them **died as a result of torture** inflicted on them such as Julius Nguh Ndi, Philip Tete and last but not the least Pa Ndifet Zacharia Khan, who passed away just three months ago as a result of torture he was subjected to in 1997.

[161] (Ozughen 2012, SCNC North America Convention speech) At home more than 136 compatriots were **arrested** of the anticipated thousands who had declared their intent to participate in the peaceful demonstration.

[162] (Ngala Nfor 2013, end-of-year message) In typical Machiavellian style, the **ruthless forces of la Republique du Cameroun swooped on** the patriots and freedom fighters and arrested 84 activists and leaders whom they **crammed into Gendarmerie and Police cells under very inhuman conditions.**

[163] (Ngala Nfor 2015, Letter to the elite) It is equally important I remind you that though we have been **arrested, tortured, detained, some murdered in cold blood for standing up for a just cause**, and many several times have been charged to court, Yaoundé has never won a case against British Southern Cameroonians.

When describing the abuse carried out by the Francophone-dominated administration in Southern Cameroons, very strong words such as “brutalised”, “tortured”, “raped” are used. In fact, as mentioned in the excerpts, anytime the people of Southern Cameroons want to exercise their right to self-determination they are always repressed by the Cameroon government in the most inhumane ways possible. This is why they will move further to compare the situation they are facing with other cases of oppression around the world.

- **Apartheid**

Anglophone nationalists liken their situation to the Apartheid regime in South Africa. This is another comparison aimed at telling the world how the Cameroon's presence in Southern Cameroons is a gross violation of international law and human rights. As a reminder, the Apartheid was a racial segregation and white minority rule which was in force in South Africa until 1994. Apart from encouraging the domination of the tiny white minority over the overwhelming black majority through land expropriation, educational segregation and linguistic assimilation, this system was mostly characterised by, and was internationally

famous for its heavy crackdowns on any attempts by the black people of South Africa to claim their rights. In fact, black rights activists would be arrested, thrown to the dogs or shot in demonstrations as was the case during the 1976 Soweto uprisings. This Apartheid regime which was unanimously condemned by the international community because of its undemocratic and racist foundations is used by Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders as a perfect illustration of what they and their people are facing. As seen below, the suffering of Southern Cameroons is described as “neo-apartheid”

[164] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st anniversary speech) We are determined to end **neo-apartheid** of fifty-one years.

[165] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st anniversary speech) Should the UN and international Community doubt the resolve of our people to free themselves from the shackles of annexation, colonialism and **neo-apartheid**, it should, as was the case in East Timor, Namibia, most recently in South Sudan, to name a few, conduct a referendum in British Southern Cameroons.

[166] (Ngala Nfor 2014, End-of-year message) **Neo-apartheid** under la Republique du Cameroun cannot and must not decapitate and incapacitate us into rotten maggots fit for the hawks.

[167] (Ngala Nfor 2014, End-of-year message) To end **neo-apartheid** rule, statelessness, foreign domination and alien rule and put Southern Cameroonians on the path of progress, our immediate task is to oust the occupier of our land and restore our government in our national capital, Buea.

So far we have seen how Southern Cameroonian leaders make use of comparison, storytelling and characterisation to describe their territory as colonially occupied and their people as being exploited and abused by the occupier, that is Cameroon. According to them, Southern Cameroons’ language and culture have always threatened since the territory unified with former French Cameroon, whose administration not only oppresses Southern Cameroonians, but also exploits their territory.

5.5.5. Southern Cameroons’ natural resources are exploited

All scholars who attempted to define colonialism and imperialism agree on the fact that both political situations entail the exploitation of the natural resources of the colony to the benefit

of the colonial and imperialist power. It is therefore no wonder that Southern Cameroonian independence activists, who see their country as a colony, claim that the latter is exploited by the former French Cameroon. As a matter of fact, sub-state nationalists often make use of the idea that their territory and people are economically exploited to push for independence. As we saw in Chapter 4, Artur Mas complains about the unfair economic and fiscal treatment and the exploitation of Catalonia by Spain in a bid to convince his people that they will fare better if they become independent.

Coming back to Southern Cameroons, independence activists indicate that before unification with Cameroon, Southern Cameroons had a vibrant economy which mostly relied on its natural resources, such as oil and timber, and agriculture. To achieve that, they make use of the topos of comparison, which involves comparing Southern Cameroons during British rule to the same territory nowadays. Storytelling, examples and statistics are used to achieve that. According to Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders, the territory had stable financial institutions, decent infrastructure which were all destroyed or abandoned soon after Southern Cameroons united with French Cameroon. This is better explained in the examples below.

[168] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st anniversary speech) For fifty-one years we have seen our **seaports, airports closed down and roads that link our towns and regions abandoned while for purposes of assimilation** our towns are linked by tarred roads to La Republique du Cameroun towns.

[169] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) After 1972 anti-constitutional referendum, **seaports, airports, PowerCam, Santa Coffee Estate and other financial and economic institutions established by British Southern Cameroons Government were all closed while CamBank and Produce Marketing Board with a huge stabilization fund were transferred to Yaoundé and Douala respectively.** This political action was taken to make British Southern Cameroons economically subservient and entirely dependent on la Republique du Cameroun. There is no similar action that was ever taken in favour of Southern Cameroons.

[170] (Ngala Nfor 2015, message to students) [Southern Cameroons] 2. **Had one international airport, Tiko, and three inland airports, namely, BessongAbang, Bali and Weh. There were also two sea ports, Victoria and Tiko and the Mamfe river port.** These have all been closed to make British Southern Cameroons a landlocked country with no tarred roads completely dependent on la Republique du Cameroun air and sea ports.

3. Had its own electricity corporation – PowerCam which was cheaper and more efficient but Yaoundé closed it and imposed SONEL on us which is more expensive, and inefficient.
4. Had Santa Coffee Estate, Government Printing Press, Development Agency, Produce Marketing Board, CamBank, Cameroon Air Transport (CAT) etc. which were all closed down to cripple British Southern Cameroons financially and economically and keep it underdeveloped and subservient. Yet the greater wealth is from our land.

Ngala Nfor makes use of specific examples to suggest that from the outset, French Cameroons wanted Southern Cameroons never to be a developed territory, this is why all infrastructure there was destroyed or abandoned. Southern Cameroonian activists explain that money made in Southern Cameroons is actually used to develop other regions all found in the French-speaking side of Cameroon.

An illustration of the foregoing is the fact that royalties for natural resources such as oil and timber from Southern Cameroons are allegedly paid in cities found in the French speaking side of the border. For instance, in 171 below, Ngala Nfor claims that Cameroon's one and only oil refinery better known by its French acronym SONARA, which is based in Limbe (formerly known as Victoria), Southern Cameroon, pays royalties to another city, Douala, found in the French-speaking part of the country. To Southern Cameroonian independence activists, it makes no sense that they have natural resources but their local administrations cannot benefit from it.

[171] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to Marafa) What has been government policy on the management of oil revenue and those who head SONARA? How is it that even **common royalty is paid to Douala City Council and not to Victoria City Council**, Southern Cameroons, where SONARA is located and the source of this black gold?

[172] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to the elite) **Royalty for petrol and timber from British Southern Cameroons is paid to Douala City Council and Sangmalima council** respectively of la Republique du Cameroun.

[173] (Fon Gorji Dinka 2010, address to the nation) The first impediment is the fact that our elected representatives serve in Cameroon Parliament and claim that our 6 million people relish French Cameroon imperialism. **These MPs constitute the conveyor belt that takes our oil wealth to Yaounde;**

[174] (Fon Gorji Dinka 2010, address to the nation) In this connection our attention is drawn to inimical activities what is called the anglofool; believing that he is a Cameroonian, he sleeps at night thinking only of what to do to exhibit his zeal of loyalty to the Yaounde clique of rogues, which is pillaging and looting the Ambazonian oil wealth, **which accounts for 97 % of the external revenue of Cameroon.**

Southern Cameroon's terrible economic situation is therefore said to be the result of the territory's occupation by the French-speaking administration and it is supposedly after independence that Southern Cameroons will be able to return to its lost state of economic prosperity as well as financial and infrastructural well being.

In conclusion, Southern Cameroonian activists' argument that their territory is under a state of colonialism and imperialism is illustrated by ideas such as cultural and linguistic assimilation, as well as the exploitation of the territory. We may be tempted to interpret the use of "colonialism" and "imperialism" to describe the situation being faced by Southern Cameroonians not only as a comparison but also as a metaphor. In fact, talking about colonialism always takes us back to the occupation of Africa by European imperialist powers, especially France, England and Portugal the only accepted case of colonialism between two African states is Morocco's current occupation of Western Sahara. Nevertheless in Southern Cameroonian independentist discourse, the situation being witnessed by their territory can be likened to the domination of Africa by European nations. In this metaphorical situation, Cameroon represents the imperialist nation while Southern Cameroons is the colonised territory. As in European colonialism, Southern Cameroons is exploited and its people's identity is threatened.

- **Appeal to the right of self-determination**

Throughout the pieces of discourse we studied, it goes without saying that independence activists in Southern Cameroons think that they have the right to self-determination and independence. This right is not only the result of the distinct histories and cultures of

Southern Cameroons and “la République du Cameroun” but also a provision for all people who decide to do so under international law and by dint of internationally recognised treaties governing human rights, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

To see the extent to which Southern Cameroonian activists consider self-determination to be a right, we decided to investigate the very use of “right” and “rightful” in the pieces of discourse under study. The two words are used 102 times in or speeches and open letters. Out of these uses, the phrase “right to self-determination” appears 12 times while the phrases “human rights” or “human and people’s rights” appear 8 times. Some uses of the word are found below.

[175] (Chief Ayamba 2011, new year message) Freedom is indeed within our reach so we must make the last effort to achieve it and join our **rightful place** in the community of free, sovereign nations of the world.

[176] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st anniversary speech) Here today we are again gathered to affirm our inalienable right to self determination and to be masters of our destiny as **the rightful owners** of this land, British Southern Cameroons.

[177] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st anniversary speech) Long Live **the Right to Self Determination** of All Peoples and Nations

[178] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd anniversary speech) **Right to self-determination** is not only inherent and inalienable; it is equally an eternal right of a people. This **right** grows ever stronger in an annexed, occupied and subjugated people suffocating under foreign domination and alien rule.

[179] (Ngala Nfor 2015, message to students) **The right to self-determination** is a permanent right of any people bound together by culture, history, language, laws and traditions, and a defined territory in international law. The permanent right of any nation is the right to self-exist and to this no other nation or international organisation has the right to deny.

This is evidence of the fact that the topoi of human rights, justice and equality as well as that of the right to self-determination are very important in Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse. They believe that they are a nation, and as such they can at any time decide on their political future. It is not just about historical differences or the current oppression of their people, but also about that right they describe as “inalienable” and “eternal”. To foster

this idea, the topos of comparison is used to mention other minorities around the world which were granted the right to self-determination through referendums (no matter their outcome) and other political decisions. These examples include Scotland, Timor Leste, Namibia, just to name a few. The foregoing is illustrated below.

[180] (Chief Ayamba 2011, new year message) As I speak to you today, a new nation will soon be born in Africa when the people of **Southern Sudan** vote on January 9th 2011 to take their destiny into their own hands. All indications point to the fact that the people of **Southern Sudan** are resolved to vote for separation and freedom.

[181] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st anniversary speech) Should the UN and international Community doubt the resolve of our people to free themselves from the shackles of annexation, colonialism and neo-apartheid, it should, as was the case in **East Timor**, **Namibia**, most recently in **South Sudan**, to name a few, conduct a referendum in British Southern Cameroons.

[182] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd anniversary speech) This reality which faced the peoples of **South West Africa** (Namibia), **Eritrea**, **East Timor**, among others, boldly confronts our generation. Each generation standing at the crossroad of its history must out of absolute necessity answer the question “Who are we?” and “Who is not us?”

[183] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd anniversary speech) We all hail and salute the brave and courageous proud people of Scotland who after 307 years democratically demonstrated their inherent and permanent **right of self-determination**.

[184] (Ngala Nfor 2015, message to students) The youths of **Namibia**, **Eritrea**, **East Timor**, **Estonia**, among others, suffered same when their nation was under annexation and alien rule.

By making mention of these other minorities Southern Cameroonian leaders are not only legitimising the fight, but are also encouraging their people to remain steadfast in their struggle, because victory is at hand. Southern Cameroons is a nation and its population has been recognised internationally as a distinct people. Therefore, Southern Cameroonians as a people should be free to exercise their right to self determination. As a matter of fact that right is not only legal, but also legitimate, and more so because it is backed by divinity. This is exactly what is discussed under the next heading.

5.5.6 Southern Cameroons independence struggle is a divine mission

As we mentioned earlier in this write up, religion still plays a very important part in Southern Cameroons. As a matter of fact, the people of that territory are known to be very attached to religious denominations such as the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Church. Southern Cameroonian Evangelical and Pentecostal preachers are also a big influence in Cameroon as a whole. Therefore, the leaders of the Southern Cameroonian independence struggle are well aware of the fact that resorting to religious references can contribute to legitimising their struggle amongst the highly religious population of their territory. Southern Cameroonian independence activists build their argument on the fact that their fight is a microcosm of the universal fight between good and evil. As concerns the strategies used in discourse to prove their point, we realised that the activists make use of nomination and predication as well as argumentative strategies. Nomination and predication strategies are evidenced by constant references to divinity and the use of positive characterisation such as “children of God” when talking about Southern Cameroonians. As concerns, argumentative strategies, they are mostly built on the topos of religion and enforced in discourse through intertextuality.

- **Southern Cameroons is a territory God gave to his people**

The first strategy used by Southern Cameroonian activists is that of suggesting that the people of Southern Cameroons are children of God and Southern Cameroons is a land their father gave them. Therefore, by occupying that land, the French-speaking administrators of Cameroon are battling with and standing against God’s will. This strategy is illustrated in the examples below:

[185] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Nationality Campaigns address) Compatriots of the hour, **Fellow Children of God...**

[186] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Silver Jubilee address) Fellow Ambazonians, **fellow children of God...**

[187] (Gorji Dinka 2010, Nationality Campaigns address)...as that proto-AMBAZONIAN who just like you, still longs for our **God's given right** to live freely in peace and harmony in our country which we can no longer wait to differentiate from Cameroon by calling it Ambazonia!

[188] (Ayamba 2010, end-of-year message) But first of all let's unite to keep off the vultures of la Republique from occupying our **God-given land** which they are exploiting for their selfish ambition.

[189] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to students) You are stateless and have no future because your Fatherland, **God's given heritage**, British Southern Cameroons, has been annexed and colonially occupied by la Republique du Cameroun.

[190] (Ngala Nfor 2015, end-of-year message) we are reminded by our history that in the good old days of British Southern Cameroons all our Natural Rulers, as fathers of the nation, spoke with one voice in the interest of their people and their **God-given heritage**.

From the above examples, we can conclude that the point Southern Cameroonian leaders want to make is that, they have the right to become independent, not only because of international law or historical happenings, but also because of the supernatural. As a matter of fact, the strongly believe that the territory of Southern Cameroons was given to them by God as inheritance, and no one can change that fact. By stating that, they suggest that the struggle for independence is a mission which was ordered by and receives full support from God. This is discussed below.

- **The struggle for independence is a divine mission**

This is a very important strategy used by Southern Cameroonian nationalists in their speeches. According to them, God created all men to be free and since Southern Cameroonians are men, they have to be free from the oppression the French Cameroon. The nationalists' claim that God created all men free and equal is illustrated in the following excerpts:

[191] (Ngala Nfor 2013, end-of-year speech) Life is not worthy of its divine mission, except there is unrestricted opportunity for self-fulfillment. That is why **God in his infinite wisdom created men free and equal**.

[192] (Ngala Nfor 2014, 53rd anniversary speech) **The Almighty** created all men free and equal and to each people. He gave them their heritage to cherish and nourish.

[193] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to students) **God** did not create you to be an underdog of another person but to be the master of your destiny. In John 8: 32, the Lord inspires us with these words, “And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free”.

[194] (Ngala Nfor 2015, letter to students) The struggle for national emancipation is in answer to **God’s will** that created all people free and equal and to each people He gave them their heritage – their land.

[195] (Ngala Nfor 2015, end-of-year speech) And this is why we are here for without hope, man, burdened by despair and hopelessness will cease being who he is created to be, man, created free in the image and likeness of his creator **God** to multiply and rule the world.

From the above excerpts, we can see that Southern Cameroonian independence activists have been heavily influenced by the so-called liberation theology, which states that the Bible and religion can justify the fight for the liberation of people around the world. As a matter of fact, proponents of the liberation theology strongly believe in a God who will use people to establish justice on Earth. It is therefore no wonder that in the speeches we studied the phrase “God of justice” appears four (4) times. By saying that the will of God is that all men should be free and equal, Southern Cameroonian nationalists suggest that their territory’s current situation totally goes against God’s will.

Talking about the Southern Cameroonian struggle for independence in particular, the Anglophone nationalists’ presentation of their endeavour as a divine mission falls within what we called the topos of religion. As example 193 above demonstrates, it is often characterised by direct or indirect references to the Bible (intertextuality). The topos of religion is a very strong argumentative strategy which aims at taking justification away from legal or political debates and looking at that struggle through the lenses of one thing that unites all Southern Cameroonians, namely religion. By divine mission, we mean the fact that, according to Southern Cameroonian independence fighters, their struggle was inspired and ordained by God. What’s more, the struggle received full support from God and rising against

it would be tantamount to defying God himself. Apart from legitimising the struggle, presenting the struggle as a divine mission serves as a way to encourage more people to join, and also threaten those who may be lagging behind (topos of threat). Therefore, this strategy could have been discussed under unification and cohesivation strategies as well. The following examples clearly illustrate the foregoing.

[196] (Fon Gorji Dinka 2010, address to the nation) I found out since 1985 that ours is **a spiritual struggle initiated, organized and led by the Lord God Almighty Himself**. That the Ambazonian struggle grows stronger by the day evinces the spiritual dimensions of the struggle.

[197] (Fon Gorji Dinka 2011, fear has changed sides) You all did it with skill, technique, humility and above all, with the truth keeping in mind that **the Ambazonian Peoples Liberation Struggle is led by the almighty God, and Fon Gorji-Dinka is only a puny tool in His mighty hands**.

[198] (Fon Gorji Dinka 2011, Silver Jubilee address) Compatriots it is not their fault, for the **Lord God who initiated Ambazonia's Liberation struggle (and will give us victory sooner than later), is the cause and effect of all things**.

[199] (Fon Gorji Dinka 2011, fear has changed sides) I am not a prophet but **the God we all worship has opened my vista to see that the time to concretize the legal victories which He has won for us is here**. So tell anyone who plans to confuse and sabotage The Peoples Liberation Struggle that I say his arms are too short to box with God.

[200] (Ngala Nfor 2013, end-of-year message) Live for a better humanity by first freeing yourself from foreign domination. **God sent you here on mission**. Moreover, to transform the universe for good, live a shared life and transform our captive society, British Southern Cameroons, into a sovereign democratic nation.

[201] (Ngala Nfor 2015, end-of-year message) It had its torments but it was not without hope. As the dark clouds gave us chilling moments, **with God on our side**, so were there moments of the rays of sunshine and the morning star.

Presenting the struggle for independence as a divine mission is also a way of stating that victory is at hand, as, according to the principles of Christianity, no one can resist God's will. From the above examples, we clearly see that Southern Cameroonian nationalists believe in God's sovereignty and ability to liberate their people from the alleged oppression and domination of French-speaking Cameroon. To further illustrate this, Southern Cameroonian

independence activists often make use of Biblical stories such as the Israelites' journey to the promise land. Let's consider example 204 below:

[202] (Ngala Nfor 2012, 51st anniversary speech) Here today 1st October 2012 in Buea, **we are crossing the Jordan to repossess our land, the only divine inheritance we have on planet earth.** In faith and courage, never again shall we look back. No!

In the above example, Ngala Nfor Ngala likens the situation faced by Southern Cameroonians to that of the Old Testament's account of how the Israelites left bondage in Egypt in order to possess the land they had been promised by God. In this Biblical comparison, Southern Cameroonians are seen as God's people, that is the Israelites, while French-speaking Cameroonians are likened to the Egyptians who exploited and dominated the Israelites for 400 years. The promise land here is Southern Cameroons. As the Egyptians in the Bible, Southern Cameroonians have to cross a desert of difficulties and trouble in order to get to that promise land. No matter the challenges and difficulties they have been facing, God has always been on their side and that is why Ngala Nfor believes that victory is near.

This story is an illustration of how important is religion in the Southern Cameroonian independence struggle. As a matter of fact, one of the leaders whose works are studied in this write-up, that is Andrew Ambeazieh, is a clergyman or more precisely, a Roman Catholic Priest. Anglophone nationalist leaders' use of religion is one of the aspects which sets Southern Cameroonian identity building apart from Catalan nationalism, where religion is never really mentioned, except when encouraging people to celebrate Saint George's day, which is more of a cultural celebration than a religious one.

To sum up, this chapter was aimed at discussing the strategies used by Southern Cameroonian leaders in order to construct a separate identity for their people. These strategies include singularisation, autonomisation, unification and cohesivation, assimilation, inclusion and continuation, and justification strategies.

First of all, singularisation strategies are used by nationalists around the world in order to present their nation and territory in an idealised way. Singularisation is therefore very much related to the topos of idyllic place or *locus amoenus*. In Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse, present-day Southern Cameroons is never praised. And this is understandable since the territory is allegedly exploited by French-speaking Cameroon. Therefore, singularisation in Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse is aimed at praising the former British territory of Southern Cameroons as well as the relics of the European colonial period, namely Anglo-saxon education and the Common Law. According to Southern Cameroonian nationalists, their territory was a peaceful, prosperous and democratic nation until unification with French Cameroon. Therefore, only independence can bring Southern Cameroonians back to that idyllic situation.

Autonomisation strategies are aimed at presenting Southern Cameroons as a distinct, separate and autonomous nationality. This idea was found to be enforced by nomination strategies such as the use of toponyms and demonyms. As a matter of fact, in Southern Cameroonian independence discourse, “Southern Cameroons” and “La republique du Cameroun” are always very distinct entities, and the use of French when mentioning the French-speaking territory is just a way of enforcing such a difference. Some nationalists even went further to coin a name for their territory, namely “Ambazonia” in order to avoid any confusion caused by the use of the names “Cameroon/Cameroun”. This autonomisation is further reflected in discourse by the use of demonyms derived from the toponyms we presented above as well as other strategies aimed at setting Southern Cameroonians apart, such as prepositional phrasal constructions like “citizens of” and the metaphorical use of “la République” or “Yaounde”

What’s more, unification and cohesivation strategies are used in nationalist discourse in order to bring people of a certain territory together and create (or call for) a sense of brotherhood and interdependence amongst them. To achieve this, Southern Cameroonian nationalists

emphasize the Anglo-saxon identity which all Southern cameroonians have in common and reject the territorial division into two provinces. In addition to this, Southern Cameroonian nationalists extensively make use of deontic modality in order to call on all Southern Cameroonians to unite and live together as one. Deontic modality is achieved in the pieces of discourse we studied by the use of modal auxiliaries such as “must”, imperatives or other deontic constructions like “I/we call on you” or “let us”. Finally, unification and cohesivation are achieved by topoi of religion and threat, which aim at obliging Southern Cameroonians to join the struggle by instilling fear of divinity or fellow Southern Cameroonians.

Furthermore, Assimilation and inclusion strategies aim at presenting the people of a given territory as part of the same homogeneous entity. In Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse, we realised that activists often described Southern Cameroons as a nation, which suggests total homogeneity between its people. This is why Anglophone nationalists resort to family metaphors (Southern Cameroons is a family) as well as transport metaphor (independence struggle is a train or boat). As a matter of fact, all Southern Cameroonians are said to be affected by the present situation of their territory, this is why independence activists often make use of first person plural pronouns and possessives when talking about their fate. Assimilation and inclusion strategies are very close to inclusion strategies where the aim is showing that the struggle for independence is a legacy from the past and should therefore continue. In Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse, we realised that past leaders are praised and described as role models. These past nationalists are often said to be prophets or visionaries, who foresaw what union with French Cameroon could bring about and fought for that union not to happen.

Finally, the justification of Southern Cameroons’ struggle for independence encompasses two main ideas, namely legality and legitimacy. As concerns legality, Southern cameroonian activists make use of various strategies such as intertextuality, quoting authorities,

storytelling as well as the history as a teacher topos to present the fact that Southern Cameroonians legally have the right to be independent. After having mentioned the fact that Southern Cameroons and “la republique du Cameroon” had their independences on distinct dates, Southern Cameroonian activist make reference to the principle of intangibility of boundaries as well as the *Uti Posseditis* principle in order to justify the fact that “La republique du cameroon” did not have the right to unite with Southern Cameroons. To give further strength to their argument they mention the inexistence of a treaty of union between Southern Cameroons and “la République du Cameroon”, which is the only document likely to put their claims into question. Moreover, Southern Cameroonian activists insist on the fact that they have been recognised by the African Union as a distinct people and cite legal documents making evidence of that. Therefore, as a distinct people, they definitely have the right to self-determination and independence. In addition, the legitimacy of the struggle can be interpreted as the idea that even if there were no legal ground for Southern Cameroons to fight for independence, the terrible situation faced by the people living in that territory could still justify their fight for independence. Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders make use of storytelling and the topos of human rights and that of justice and equality in order to give some reasons why Southern Cameroonians want to be independent. They are seen as second-class citizens and do not have the right to freely use their language. Their natural resources are exploited to the benefit of the French-speaking part of the country. Moreover, Southern Cameroonian nationalists think that their struggle for independence was ordained by God. Southern cameroons is their God-given land and they will do everything possible to get it. Even if the world is against them, they are sure God is on their side.

This chapter has thus helped us identify the discursive strategies used by Southern Cameroonian nationalists, which will be compared to the strategies we identified in Chapter 4 when discussing Catalonia. This will be done in the general conclusion of this write-up.

Chapter 6 Conclusion: Catalonia meets Southern Cameroons

This write up is the result of a research work aimed at analysing the construction of separate identities in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons. It is based on the study of pieces of political discourse (be they speeches or open letters) produced by the leaders of nationalist movements in both territories. In Chapters 4 and 5, we discussed the results we obtained from a careful analysis of the pieces of discourse making up our corpus. Those chapters made us realise that both in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons, nationalist leaders make use of almost all the strategies mentioned by Wodak et al. when discussing the discourse historical approach. Nevertheless, though the macro-strategies used by both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders are the same, when we start going skin deep, we realise that they do not always resort to the same types of structures in order to build their argument. Therefore, this chapter is aimed at discussing the similarities and differences that exist between the discursive construction of nationalism in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons. As in the previous two chapters, our discussion will be based mainly on Wodak et al.'s classification. Nevertheless, this approach will be complemented by Chilton's Discourse-Space model in order to give a graphical representation of several strategies used by nationalist leaders in both territories. Overall, this chapter is built on the need to provide a definite answer to our research questions and confirm our initial hypotheses that, by and large, there are more similarities than differences between the discursive manifestations of nationalism in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons, and that the differences that do exist are the direct consequences of the geographical, political and cultural separation of both territories. Finally, it is worthy to note that this chapter will be organised in such a way that similarities are discussed along with differences when talking about a specific set of strategies. This is the only way of making this work more cohesive and reader-friendly.

6.1 Singularization strategies: similarities and differences

As a reminder, singularisation strategies are discursive approaches aimed at presenting one's territory in the most positive attributes one can ever think about. They are mostly built on what Wodak *et al* refer to as the idyllic place topos. More specifically, nationalist leaders always make sure they praise their territory and make their audience see it as an amazing place in terms of geography, history, economy, culture, etc. Both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian leaders make use of these strategies in their speeches.

To begin with Catalonia, we realised in our analysis that the praise of the territory is part of the most important strategies used by Artur Mas. He therefore praises Catalonia's history, geographical position, which he often claims to be highly strategic, then praises the territory's institutions, be they political, educational or cultural. Southern Cameroonian leaders also praise their territory's institutions, culture and people, but do it in a slightly different way from Artur Mas. More specifically, we realised that while Artur Mas's praise of Catalonia and its people spans from the past till the time of speaking and much more elaborate than that of Southern Cameroonian leaders, such as Ngala Nfor, who tend to mostly praise the historical territory of British Southern Cameroons, and not the present-day territory. As a matter of fact, Southern Cameroonian leaders think that there is nothing good in present-day Southern Cameroons which can actually make them proud of their territory. For them, it lost all of its attractiveness since unifying with the French-speaking territory of Cameroon. To make their argument clearer, as we saw in Chapter 5, Southern Cameroonian nationalists often mention the fact that before unification, Southern Cameroons was a democratic territory, it had strong institutions, state-of-the-art infrastructure and was even a safe haven for refugees from the French-administered territory. Nonetheless, after unification, Southern Cameroons' democratic tradition was destroyed, its infrastructure was abandoned and the

only relics of that glorious period are the Common Law system and English education, which are constantly threatened by the Francophone-dominated administration.

The above being said, it appears that, as opposed to Catalan singularisation which mostly aims at making the people of Catalonia proud of their territory and its past, present and future achievements, Southern Cameroonian singularisation is more about lamenting and making the people realise what they have lost since their territory reunited with French Cameroon. This difference can be said to be the result of different political situations in both territories. Actually, Catalonia is an autonomous region of Spain and has been governed by nationalists from a certain period of time. Though these nationalists are asking for complete independence, they already enjoy some amount of freedom and self-rule. Therefore, they have many reasons to praise present-day Catalonia. Moreover, such praise is a way for them to also mention what they have achieved since they were given the opportunity to govern the territory. Southern Cameroonian nationalists on the other hand have not had such an opportunity. Actually, they are often considered to be terrorists in Cameroon and do not have the right to fully exercise their political rights in the country. According to them, their territory was annexed and is now being colonised by a country which is worse than the British colonial master. Therefore, it would be contradictory for them to praise present-day Southern Cameroons which according to them has been exploited and colonised for five decades. That is why they mostly praise the past and its present-day influences such as the Anglo-Saxon culture, which to their understanding is more democratic, peace-loving, in short superior.

As concerns strategies used to enforce singularisation in discourse, we realised that Southern Cameroonian and Catalan leaders mostly make use of the same topoi, such as idyllic place, comparison and history as a teacher. These topoi are evidenced in discourse by linguistic means such as superlatives and other lexemes denoting comparison, positive characterisation

and storytelling. This notwithstanding, Artur Mas's praise of Catalonia is deeper, and the Catalan leader makes use of various linguistic resources which are not used in Southern Cameroons' pieces of discourse for singularisation. These include intertextuality, and more specifically the use of statistics taken from authoritative sources. The inability for Southern Cameroonian nationalists to find anything good about their territory at the time their speeches were delivered may explain why they do not resort to singularisation strategies as much as Artur Mas.

6.2 Autonomisation strategies: similarities and differences

Autonomisation strategies aim at presenting one's territory as a fully separate and autonomous entity from other territories or the rest of the country where the sub-state is found. Autonomisation strategies in both Southern Cameroons and Catalonia are achieved by making use of nomination and predication strategies hovering around toponyms, demonyms, prepositional phrases and metaphor. In addition, nationalist leaders in both territories make use of intensification strategies by focusing their pieces of discourse on their territories while avoiding as much as possible the use of lexemes referring to the territory they are officially part of. In both Southern Cameroons and Catalonia, nationalist leaders are fully aware of the fact that they need to name their territories in such ways that no confusion is made between them and the countries they are internationally considered to be part of. This is achieved by using the names "Southern Cameroons" and "Catalunya" as many times as possible in order for their territories to always be in the spotlight. Nationalist leaders in both Catalonia and Southern Cameroons take pains to make a clear distinction between their territory and the countries they are part of by turning to similar or different stylistic devices.

When it comes to similarities, we realised both in Southern Cameroons and in Catalonia the appellations "the republic of Cameroon" and "Espanya" refer to foreign countries and not the countries both territories are part of. Specifically, Southern Cameroons and the Republic of

Cameroon are often seen as two distinct entities and so are Catalonia and Spain. To further enforce such separation and avoid any type of confusion, nationalist leaders and Catalonia and Southern Cameroons will often resort to different stylistic devices which are discussed below.

Differences between Catalonia and Southern Cameroons in terms of autonomisation strategies are again the result of the natural differences that exist between the territories in terms of history, culture, political tradition, just to name a few. Though both Southern Cameroonian and Catalan nationalists do everything possible to limit their use of “Cameroon” and “Espanya” respectively (and in such a way avoid confusion), they make use of different strategies to achieve that. While Catalan Artur Mas mostly makes use of the word “Estat” which can be interpreted as a metonymy, Southern Cameroonian nationalists prefer to use the French appellation “la republique du Cameroun” which is an instance of borrowing from French. These two strategies have distinct objectives but contribute to one and the same thing, namely setting the territories apart. As we said earlier, both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence activists want their territory to be distinguished from the territories they are part of. For Artur Mas, Spain as it is nowadays is just a mere political institution, not a nation. That is why he prefers to make use of the word “l’estat” (the State) when talking about Spain while clearly mentioning Catalonia. This strategy is different from the one used in Southern Cameroons, as in this case, by using French, nationalist leaders want to emphasize the linguistic difference between both territories. By maintaining the French appellation of Cameroon in their communications, they want to make it clear that Southern Cameroons, which was a British Trust-territory and whose official language is English, has nothing to do with the French-speaking territory of Cameroon. What’s more, given the fact that the very use of the word “Cameroons” can lead to confusions, some Southern Cameroonian leaders decided to coin a different name for their territory, namely Ambazonia.

Coining is not necessary in Catalonia, since the name does not bear any resemblance with “España”.

The above autonomisation strategies can also be analysed from a perspective inspired by Chilton’s Discourse-Space model. As a matter of fact, the social relations embedded in the toponyms and demonyms used in Catalan and Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse can be interpreted conceptually. Therefore, from a purely lexical perspective, the toponyms “Catalonia”, “Southern Cameroons” and “Ambazonia” can be said to describe a proximal space relationship because they refer to the territories the speakers identify with. On the other hand, “la Republique du Cameroun” and “Espanya” are clear illustrations of a distal space relationship, since they refer to the territories nationalists want to secede from. Finally, “L’estat” may be interpreted as evidence of medial space relationship. In fact, Catalan leaders always use “l’estat” to describe the administration, which, though based in Madrid, influences Catalan politics, whereas in Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse, there is no real word that can be said to capture a medial space relationship. The foregoing is illustrated in figures 6.1 and 6.2.

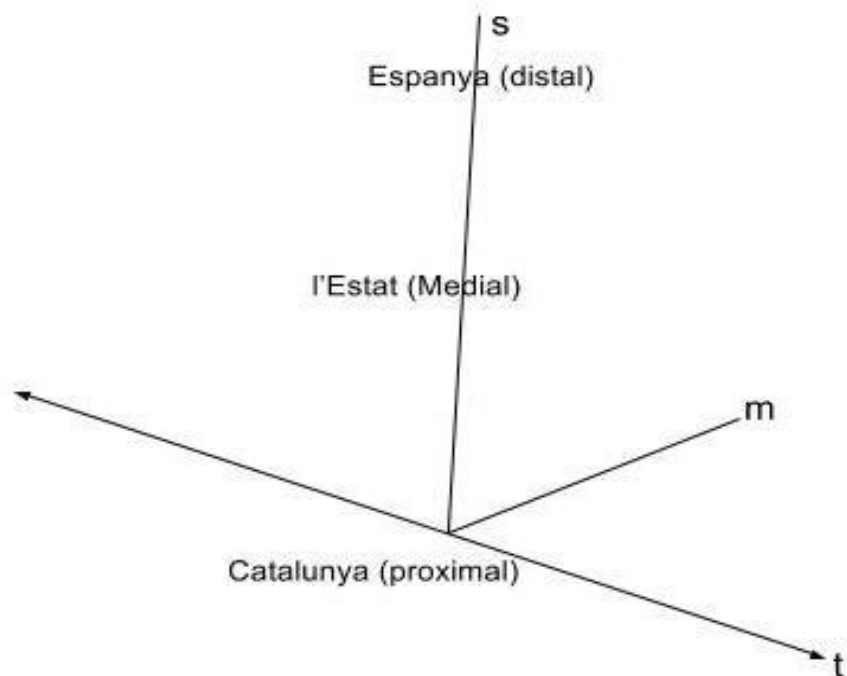


Figure 6.1 Toponyms and space relationship (Catalonia)

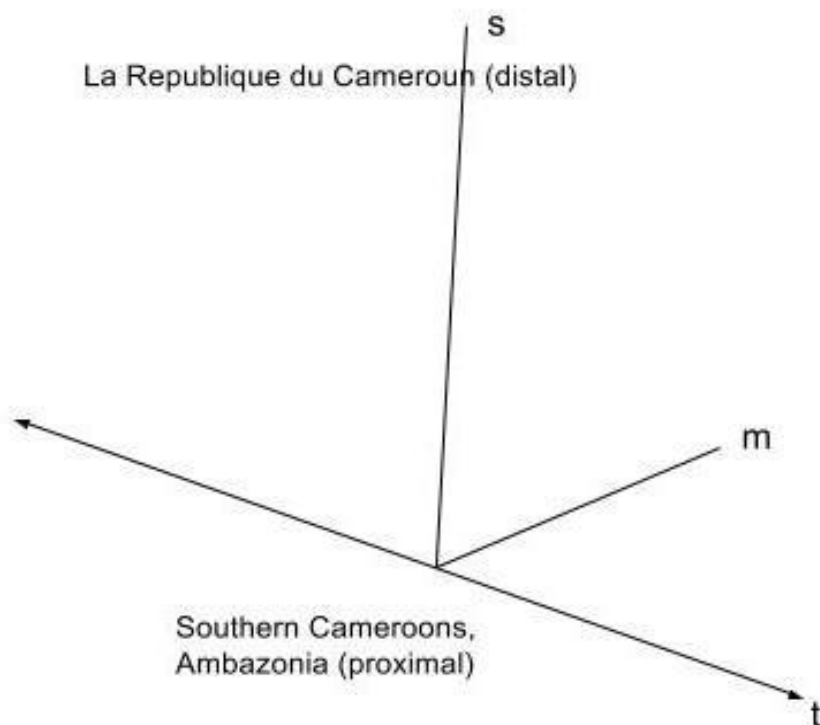


Figure 6.2. Toponyms and space relationship (Southern Cameroons)

6.3 Similarities and differences in Unification and Cohesivation

As we discussed in the previous chapters of this work, both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence activists do everything possible to rally all their fellow citizens together and strive to create a sense of brotherhood between all members of their respective nations. From the analyses of unification and cohesivation strategies we carried out in chapters 4 and 5, it goes without saying that there are lots of similarities between Catalonia and Southern Cameroons' independence movements. To begin with, we noted the fact that the same strategies are often used in order to foster unification amongst the population. More specifically, both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence activists make use of nomination strategies as well as argumentation strategies through topoi such as unity, threat or usefulness. Nationalists in both Catalonia and Southern Cameroons make use of deontic modality to encourage their fellow citizens to unite and push for their territories' respective independences.

Nomination strategies are used to name and emphasize the features that may contribute to unifying the people. This is achieved in discourse through lexical choice or diction. For instance, in both territories, emphasis is laid on cultural and linguistic differences between the minorities and other citizens of the countries they are part of. Artur Mas, always insists on the importance of the Catalan language in preserving a distinct identity. Moreover, he encourages his people to take part in cultural celebrations such as Saint George's Day (Sant Jordi) in order to assert their distinct culture and practices as a people. Similar strategies are used in Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse especially when language is concerned. As a matter of fact, Southern Cameroonian independence activist often base their argument on the linguistic difference between their territory and French-speaking Cameroon. To them, English education and well as the English Common Law are what Southern Cameroonians

have in common. Therefore, if this “Anglo-saxon” culture of theirs is destroyed, then they will cease to exist as a people.

Furthermore, Artur Mas often lays emphasis on the Senyera (flag of Catalonia), which is described as a unifying factor and a sign of patriotism. In the Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse we studied, no such mention is made. This may be because until very recently, the secessionist or separatist groups in Southern Cameroons used different flags to represent their territory, but it goes without saying that this is changing fast, as a flag has won over other ones and is now used as a unifying marker amongst Southern Cameroonians.

As we mentioned before, apart from the use of language and culture to unify their people both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalist leaders make use of deontic modality to unify their people. We can say with a high degree of certainty that the deontic structures used by Catalan and Southern Cameroonian leaders use have the same pragmatic effects and that only language sets them apart. More specifically, they always aim at telling their fellow countrymen that it is necessary to unite and that only unity can lead them to victory over their opponents. Deontic modality is evidenced in both Catalan and Southern Cameroonain discourse by the use of deontic modals, imperatives, and other constructions denoting obligation or threat. Leaders in both territories also resort to the topos of threat in order to convince their people they have no other choice but to unite, else they will face negative consequences. From the foregoing, it appears that Catalan and Southern Cameroonian leaders have a lot in common when it comes to strategies aimed at unifying and building cohesion amongst their people. In fact, unification and cohesivation strategies are one of the sets of strategies where there are more similarities between Catalonia and Southern Cameroons’ nationalists discourses.

6.4 Similarities and differences in assimilation and inclusion strategies

By and large, assimilation and inclusion strategies in discourse are aimed at convincing the audience that there is a total similarity or homogeneity between members of the group the discourse initiators want to separate. This homogeneity may be personal, spatial or even temporal. Assimilation and inclusion are enforced both in Southern Cameroonian and Catalan speeches with the use of nomination and predication strategies on the one hand, which are evidenced by the use of lexemes denoting perfect homogeneity, first personal pronouns, possessives and verbs as well as metaphor, and argumentation strategies on the other hand, like boat/train topoi.

In fact, after studying the speeches and other pieces of discourse produced by Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence activists, we realised that, as with other sets of strategies, the same or very similar linguistic devices are used. First and foremost, both Southern Cameroonian and Catalan activists make sure that they lexically describe their territories as nations, knowing that nations have always been described as groups of people who have a lot in common, including genetics, language, history, religion and culture as a whole. By calling the territories nations, they aim at justifying their right to self-determination as provided by international law. In addition, nationalist activists in both Southern Cameroons and Catalonia resort to metaphor in order to discuss the situation faced by their fellow countrymen. More specifically, in both territories we have realised that politicians highly make use of what we may refer as “means-of-transport metaphors”. In Catalan pieces of discourse, Artur Mas often likens Catalonia to a boat whose passengers (the people of Catalonia) are faced with and affected by the same difficulties. This very metaphor is used by Southern Cameroonian nationalists in order to talk about the fact that the people of Southern Cameroons are united and are led by the boat pilots (the leaders of the struggle) to a destination (independence) and that despite multiple storms at sea (difficulties faced by all of

them) they shall achieve their independence. When they do not use boat metaphors, Southern Cameroonian liken their struggle for independence to a train. This metaphor has almost the same pragmatic effect as the boat metaphor.

Metaphorical personification is also used by both Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence activists in order to emphasize the fact that their people are fully united. Nonetheless, we can say that Southern Cameroonian activists slightly differ from Artur Mas in that they often make use the nation-as-a-family metaphor in order to unify and assimilate their people while Artur Mas resorts to the nation-as-a-person metaphor. As a matter of fact, Southern Cameroons is often described as a family where men and women are the parents and youth are the children. On the other hand, Artur Mas often discusses Catalonia as a person who has desires, fears, and any other feelings one can think about. Though they slightly differ, the metaphorical personifications used in Catalan and Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse have the aim of presenting both territories as united entities, or better still, as nations.

Another similarity between Catalonia and Southern Cameroons nationalist discourses is the use of the first person plural in order to create unity between the speakers and the audience. This is exemplified by the use of personal pronouns or possessives. In Catalan grammar however, personal pronouns are often left out so it is the form of verbs that mostly tells us about their conjugation persons. The foregoing notwithstanding, the overwhelming use of first person plural pronouns, verbs or possessives makes one understand that the nationalists in both territories want to create a united community which should be different from other communities in Spain or Cameroon. This use of personal pronouns and possessives can be interpreted from Chilton's perspective. Therefore, in 6.3 and 6.4 below, we provide some examples of how distance is created through the use of personal pronouns and possessives in specific examples drawn from Southern Cameroonian and Catalan pieces of discourse.

(Gorji Dinka 2010, Address to all Ambazonians) What we do not need at this critical juncture is playing politics or the appearance of playing to the political games of entities and peoples with no evidence that they have our best interest at heart. As Ambazonians, we know that our destiny is and will always remain in our hands and to do anything less amount to betrayal of our cause.

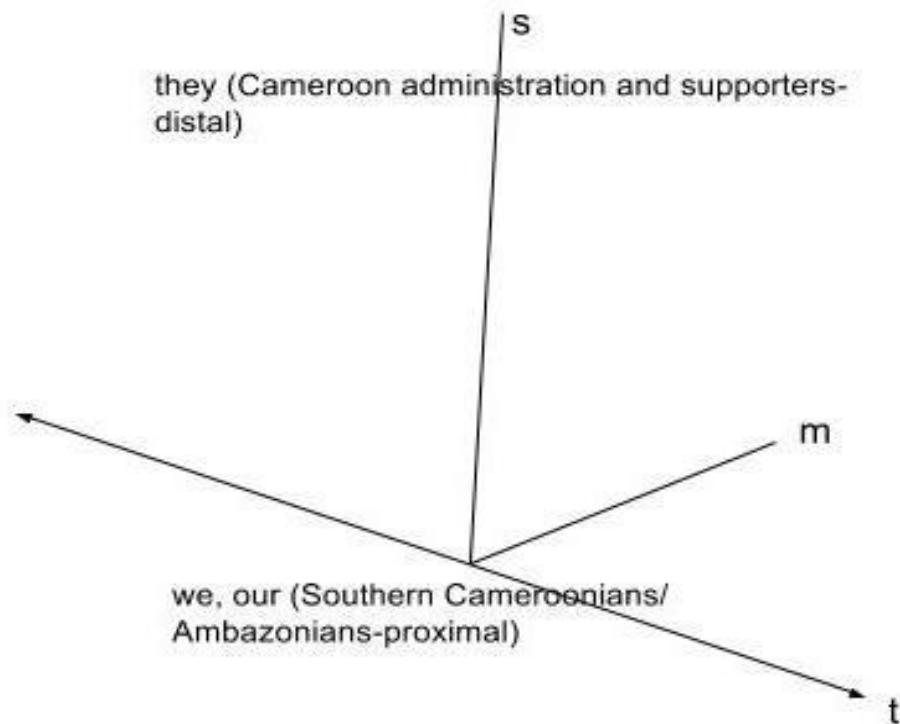


Figure 6.3 Pronouns and possessives in space representation (Southern Cameroons)

(Conferencia a moment zero, 2015) I també s'ha de dir, com s'ha comentat abans, que cada vegada que un alt dirigent polític espanyol, especialment del govern però no només del govern, ha obert la boca, ens ha situat a l'escena internacional.

És a dir, que ens ho hem guanyat i ens ho han facilitat, les dues coses juntes. Però atenció amb el judici que de tant en tant fem: No és només perquè ells a través de la seva imperícia en aquest sentit ens hagin ajudat a nosaltres a situar-nos l'escena internacional, és perquè per mèrits propis el país s'hi ha situat i no hi era i ara hi és.

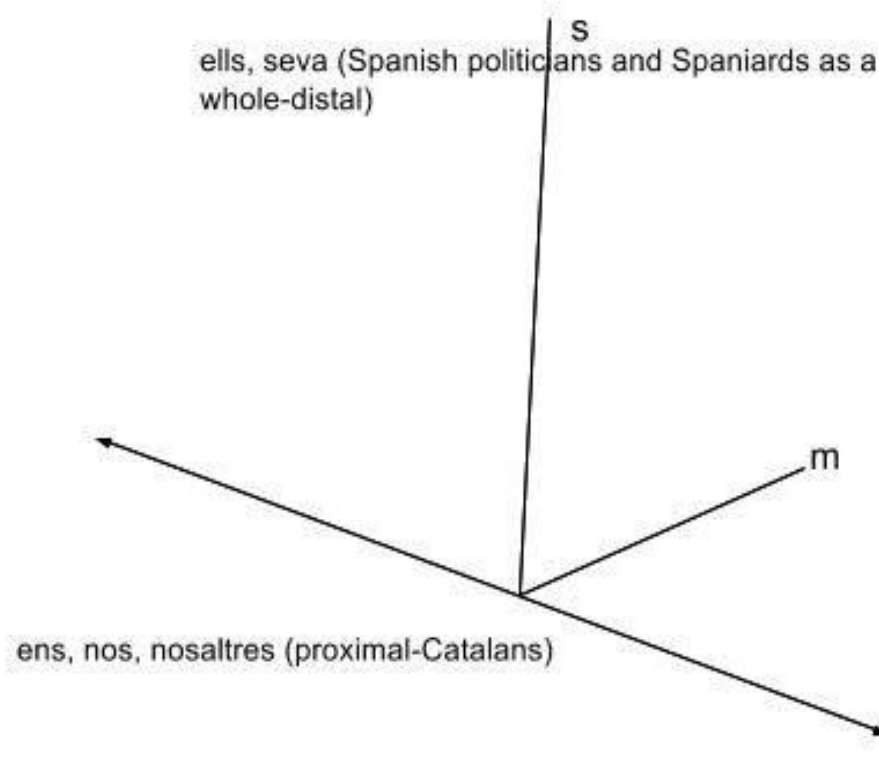


Figure 6.4 Personal pronouns and possessives in space representation (Catalonia)

The above examples clearly speak of the fact that Southern Cameroonian and Catalan independence activists' use of pronouns and possessives clearly create a division between in-group and out-group members. By so doing, they aim at enforcing a mental separation between the people of his respective territories and those of the countries they aim at separating from. This use of personal pronouns and possessives to create separation is commonly accepted within the CDA community as a very important feature in all nation-building pieces of discourse.

6.5 Similarities and differences in continuation strategies

Continuation strategies in national identity construction speeches aim at relating the struggle for self-determination to history, with the ultimate goal of saying that the said struggle started generations before the time of speaking. Continuation strategies are often very close to justification and unification and cohesivation strategies in the sense that nationalist leaders

often resort to the past in order to give the *raison d'être* of their fight and also encourage their people to support them. As concerns the nationalist movements we studied in this write up, we can say that there are more differences than similarities in the use of continuation strategies. The similarities we identified hover around the use of topoi such as history as a teacher and continuation in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons. Nevertheless, as we mentioned before, there are more differences between Artur Mas's and Southern Cameroonian leaders' discourse. These differences are the result of the very nature of the territories at stake, as well as their political history. While Catalonia has existed as a territory for more than a thousand years, Southern Cameroons is a relatively recent construction. In fact, Southern Cameroons came to life only after the 1919 partition of the former German colony of Cameroon into British and French administered territories. Therefore, Catalan nationalists have more to say when it comes to their territory's history and it is no wonder they make more use of continuation strategies than Southern Cameroonian leaders. As a matter of fact, Artur Mas uses more historical dates and events than his Southern Cameroonian counterparts. What's more, as opposed to Southern Cameroonian nationalists, Artur Mas makes use stylistic devices such as metaphor in order to further illustrate the continuous relationship between the thousand-year long history of Catalonia and the struggle for independence he and his people are going through. According to the Catalan leaders, the relationship between his territory's past and present can be likened to a gear or a chain where he and the other independence fighters are mere pieces. This is why he also uses ordinal numbers to describe himself as the 129th president of the Catalan *Generalitat*.

The above differences notwithstanding, one feature shared by nationalist leaders in both territories is reference to historical figures in order to illustrate the fact that the struggle for independence did not start with the then-generation. To be more specific, while Artur Mas presents himself as a successor to Berenguer de Crüilles and successive nationalist leaders

such as Prat de la Riba and Francesc Macià, Southern Cameroonian leaders consider their struggle to have started with people like Emmanuel Endeley or Fon Achirimbi who, before independence warned their people against unification with French Cameroon. Both in Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence movements, emphasis is laid on the need to praise these heroes and walk in their footsteps. As a matter of fact, as we mentioned earlier the most important thing in continuation strategies is actually establishing a link between the past and the present in order to justify and boost the creation (or construction) of a separate nation.

6.6 Similarities and differences in justification strategies

Justification strategies refer to sets of discursive approaches whose ultimate goal is to present the construction of a separate nation as legitimate and legal, not only in the eyes of in-group members but also in those of the international community as a whole. Here again, there are a lot of differences between Catalonia and Southern Cameroons, whose respective political, economic and cultural contexts are different. Therefore, in Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse, justification is often divided into strategies aimed at presenting the independence struggle as fully legal and those aimed at legitimating the fight for independence. They are evidenced by nomination and predication strategies as well as argumentation strategies. It is worth noting here that Artur Mas seldom makes use of nomination and predication strategies to justify the independence, but rather resorts to argumentation. Nomination and predication strategies in Southern Cameroons are aimed at not only describing the illegal nature of their territory's alleged colonisation but also describing in very harsh terms their opponents.

As opposed to Catalonia which is nationally and even internationally recognised as a territory with specificities, the idea of Southern Cameroons as a separate entity has been totally rejected by the Cameroonian administration. This may be the reason why Southern Cameroonian activists spend much time quoting legal documents in order to prove that their

territory is not legally part of the republic of Cameroon. In fact, justification strategies are the only situation where Southern Cameroonian nationalists widely make use of intertextuality to prove their point. This legal nature of the Southern Cameroonian struggle is manifested by the emphasis on the fact that there is allegedly no treaty of union between Southern Cameroons and “la republique du Cameroon”. This idea is present in virtually all the Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse making up our corpus. Artur Mas on the other hand does not pay much attention to Law, except when trying to justify his calling for a self-determination referendum and anticipated elections. To achieve that, he makes use of statistics and numbers, comparison, rhetorical questions and lexemes referring to the right to self-determination. In other words, as opposed to Southern Cameroonians who mainly resort to the topos of legality, Artur Mas bases most of his speeches on the topos of majority rule (or democracy) and the internationally recognised right to self-determination. This difference is fully understandable, as Southern Cameroonian leaders cannot really invoke majority to justify their struggle because they operate underground and have therefore never had the opportunity to know how much support they enjoy from the grassroots. On the contrary, Catalan nationalists have been governing Catalonia since 2010 and have been in active politics for enough time to really gauge how much support they have from the population.

Another difference we were able to identify between Southern Cameroons and Catalonia when it comes to justification strategies was Southern Cameroonian leaders’ tendency to resort to telling stories of oppression and torture in order to convince their audience that independence is the way to go. Again, this situation spans from the political situation in Cameroon and the fact that being a Southern Cameroonian nationalists and thus challenging the “form of the state” may still be considered to be a crime in Cameroon. Therefore, Southern Cameroonian nationalists have very often had to face the anger of the administration in Cameroon where the forces of law and order may often overlook basic

human life. Therefore it is no wonder that, as we can read in the pieces of discourse we studied, Southern Cameroonian activists are often illegally arrested and tortured by Cameroon intelligence services. By telling those stories, Southern Cameroonian activists want to lay emphasis on the cruelty of the Cameroonian administration, and by so doing gain some support from the international community. This is why they often name the victims of such abuse and may often exaggerate the stories in order to see their struggle as a fight for the respect of Human Rights. In fact, their argument is underpinned by the topos of justice and equality and that of Human Rights and they hope that organisations such as the UN will finally rise in support of the struggle for Southern Cameroons' liberation. Accounts of Human Right violations are absent from the Catalan pieces of discourse we studied. As far as Artur Mas is concerned, no attention is paid specifically to torture. Though, he does rely on the topos of Human Rights in his speeches, he lays emphasis on the fact that his people have the right to decide their future. In other words, Artur Mas never complains about torture or maltreatment but rather rise against the fact that Spanish authorities are using state machinery to deny Catalans the right to break away. This difference between Artur Mas and Southern Cameroonian leaders' argumentation schemes is again understandable, since, as opposed to Southern Cameroonian nationalists who are nowhere to be found in Cameroon's mainstream politics, Catalan separatists are free to express their political views and can actively express their views without being persecuted by the Spanish government, nevertheless, the latter also uses constitutional means to frustrate any attempts at destroying its territorial integrity. As a matter of fact, since they live in a country where freedom of speech should be respected and valued, Spanish authorities cannot torture their opponents. Therefore, the only way for them to resist the opponents by using of legal means which Artur Mas often describes as undemocratic.

Apart from resorting to accounts of torture in order to raise international awareness about the struggle for Southern Cameroons' independence, nationalist leaders in Southern Cameroons also resort to religion in order to justify their endeavour. As they usually posit, Southern Cameroonian independence is a fight between good and evil, good here represented by Southern Cameroons, and backed by God, and evil represented by "La republique du Cameroun" which is definitely inspired by the devil. As Southern Cameroonians posit, their struggle has been ordained by God and the latter will make their dream come true. To make things clearer, they will quote passages from the Bible and often liken their struggle to that of the people of Israel in Egypt as found in the Bible. Referring to the Bible in order to justify the independence struggle is a strategy mainly aimed at rallying the highly religious population of Southern Cameroons to the struggle and convincing them that though everything seems to be against them, divinity is on their side and they will overcome. This type of argument is totally absent from the Catalan pieces of discourse we studied. Actually, Artur Mas mentions religion only as a cultural marker, in situations such as when he encourages his people to celebrate Saint George's day. Nevertheless, he never really sees divinity as a stakeholder in their struggle and never quotes the Bible or any other religious text to justify their struggle. This obvious difference between Catalonia and Southern Cameroons' pieces of discourse is some other evidence of the influence of culture on the construction of nationalism and the extent to which nationalist leaders will adapt their strategies to the cultures of the people they are addressing. As previously mentioned in this write up, Southern Cameroons is a highly religious society and churches still play a very important role in the territory's daily life. As a matter of fact, religious leaders have their say in matters relating to education, politics and even economy. On the contrary, Catalonia as most of Europe, is secular and the church only plays a cultural and symbolic role. Moreover,

atheism is gaining ground in most of Western Europe and no political argument based on faith could flourish.

Despite the differences we discussed above, there are some similarities between the justification strategies used by Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence activists. For instance, nationalists in both territories often built their arguments on the fact that their territories are economically exploited and would fare better if independence is achieved. According to Artur Mas, Catalonia is a rich and economically strategic territory which would do better, if it were not used to stabilise Spanish economy. To justify this, he uses lots of statistics whose point maybe that since the beginning of the global financial crisis, the Spanish state has used Catalonia as a life jacket to its economy. According to Mas, this situation has unfortunately been detrimental to the people of Catalonia who could in other situations benefit from their wealth and economic prosperity. The argument used by Southern Cameroonian nationalists is very close to that of Artur Mas. In fact, they clearly indicate that their territory has been annexed by “la republique du Cameroun” because of its wealth and that despite the fact that their people live in abject poverty, “la republique du Cameroun” keeps exploiting their natural resources such as oil, timber and cash crops. More to that, they claim that the only infrastructure they inherited from Britain have been totally abandoned, creating a clear mismatch between the territory’s level of development and its natural resources. Therefore, the struggle for independence in Southern Cameroons is also motivated by the people’s desire to manage their natural resources and wealth in order to increase their standard of living and make their territory a developed country. In short, in both Catalonia and Southern Cameroons, nationalist leaders believe that union with Spain and “la republique du Cameroun” respectively has been detrimental to their people and that only independence can bring prosperity and wealth to their nations.

6.7 Strategy frequencies

Though Artur Mas and Southern Cameroonian independence activists make use of all the five national identity construction strategies which make up Wodak et al.'s framework, they do not lay the same amount of emphasis on the different strategies we discussed earlier. In our discussion of the similarities and differences between Catalan and Southern Cameroon Cameroonian leaders' use of strategies we hinted the fact that some strategies were more developed in one territory than another. The goal of this section is to make the foregoing statement clearer.

To begin with, while Artur Mas's singularisation strategies are built on four different semantic macro-structures, Southern Cameroonian leaders only develop one semantic macrostructure under singularization. As concerns autonomisation strategies on the one hand and unification and cohesivation strategies on the other hand, they have the same weight in Catalan and Southern Cameroonian pieces of discourse as evidenced by the number of semantic macrostructures on which they are built. Artur Mas tends to use more assimilation, inclusion and continuation strategies than his Southern Cameroonian counterparts, this is why up to four contents account for these strategies in Mas's speeches, while only two contents are used in Southern Cameroonian discourse to foster assimilation, inclusion and continuation. Finally, we realised that Southern Cameroonian activists resort to more instances of justification strategies than the Catalan leader. This is evidenced by their use of five semantic macrostructures against only four in Artur Mas's speeches. The foregoing is summarized in Table 6.1.

| Strategies | Contents (Cat.) | Contents (S.C.) |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|
| Singularisation | 4 | 1 |
| Autonomisation | 2 | 2 |
| Unification and cohesivation | 2 | 2 |
| Assimilation, inclusion and continuation | 4 | 2 |
| Justification | 3 | 5 |

Table 6.1. Use of strategies in Catalan and Southern Cameroonian discourse

We can therefore say that in Artur Mas's speeches, the mostly used strategies are singularisation and assimilation, inclusion and continuation, each set of strategies having a frequency of 26.7 %. The least used strategies in Artur Mas's speeches are autonomisation and unification and cohesivation. The foregoing is summarised in Chart 6.1.

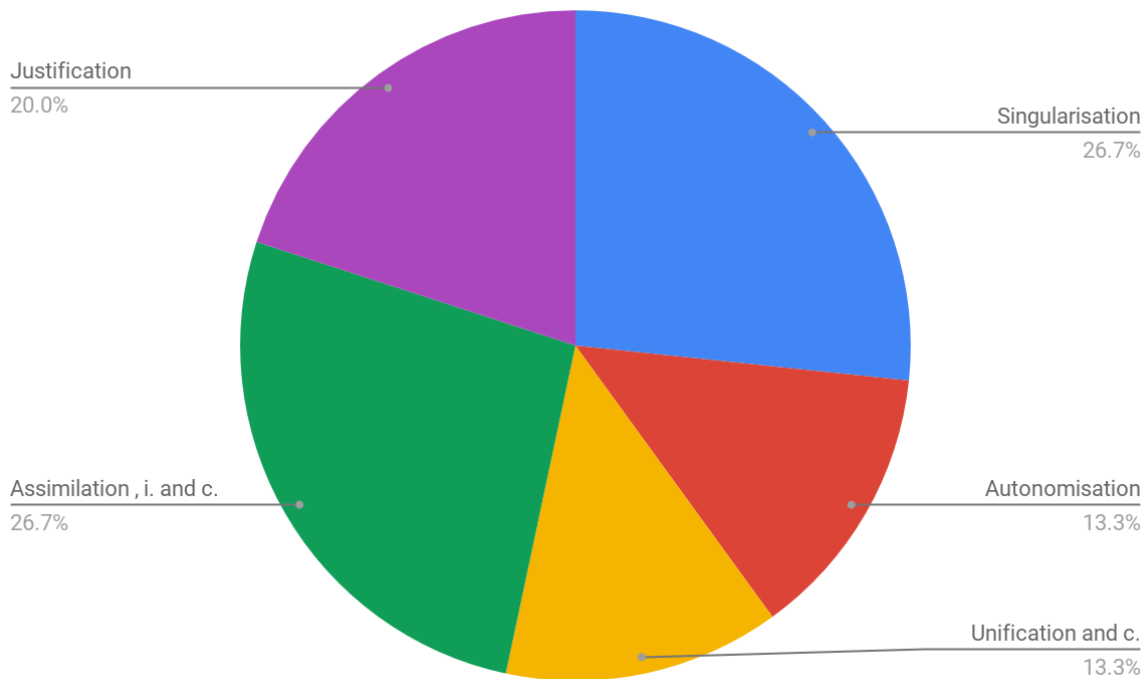


Chart 6.1. Strategy frequencies in Artur Mas's speeches

As concerns Southern Cameroons, the mostly used strategy is justification with a frequency of 41 %, while the least used strategy is singularisation, as evidenced by its 8.3 % frequency. Overall, justification is the mostly used strategy in our corpus, followed by assimilation, inclusion and continuation strategies. Singularisation comes next, while autonomisation, unification and cohesivation are the least used strategies in our corpus. The foregoing is illustrated in charts 6.2 and 6.3.

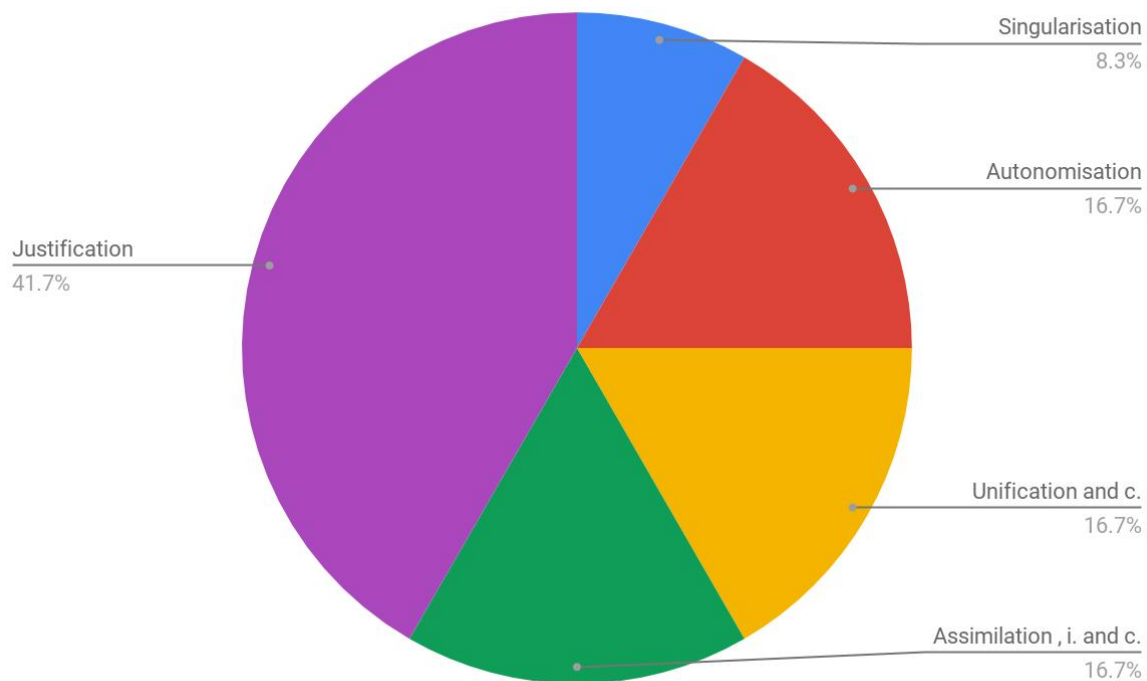


Chart 6.2. Strategy frequencies in Southern Cameroonian discourse

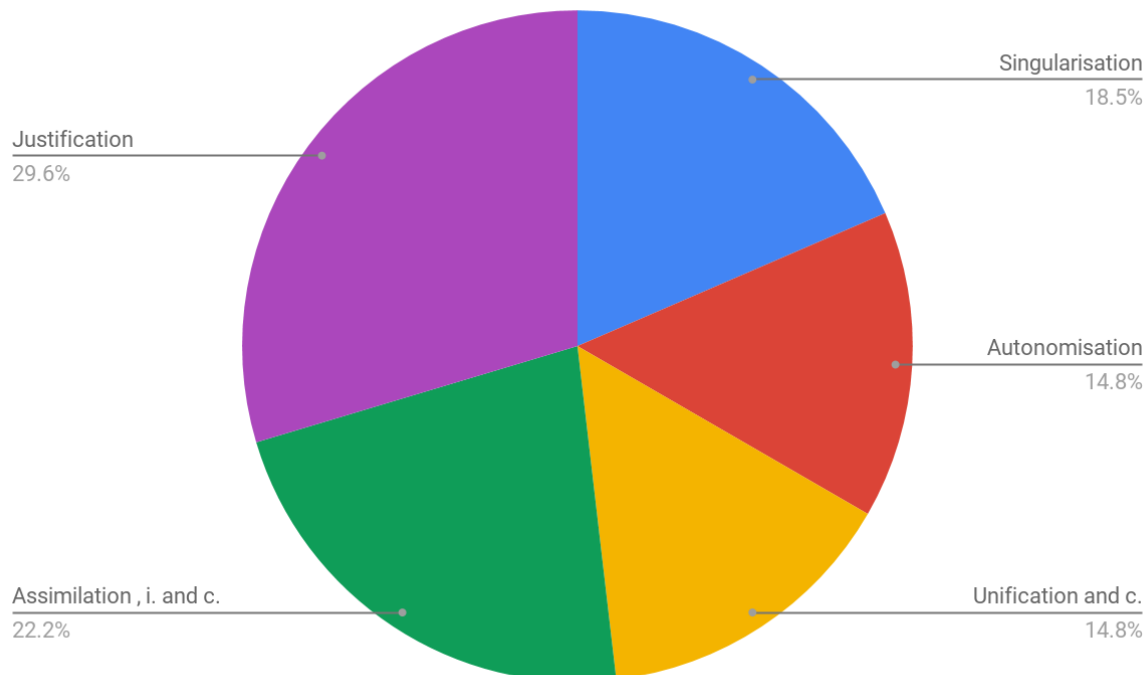


Chart 6.3. Strategy frequencies in the whole corpus

6.8 Hypothesis confirmation

The findings which were summarised in the previous sections of this chapter can be said to confirm the general and specific hypotheses which were stated in Chapter 1. As a reminder, our work was built on the general assumption that there are more similarities than differences between pieces Catalan and Southern Cameroonian discourse. More specifically, we assumed that the fight for independence in both territories was motivated by historical and cultural factors, but that beyond these factors, it was also motivated by economic reasons and separatist leaders' belief that their wealth is exploited. In addition to the foregone, before carrying out this research work, we supposed that the differences between Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence speeches and other pieces of discourse would be the result of the obvious political, geographical and cultural differences that exist between both territories.

General hypothesis: There could be more similarities than differences between Catalan and Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse.

The general hypothesis of this write up can be said to have been confirmed, because the analysis of the pieces of discourse making up our corpus yielded the identification of an overwhelming amount of similarities between Southern Cameroons and Catalonia when it comes to the strategies used to construct separation and push for self determination. The only differences which we found could clearly be explained by the fact that we were analyzing national identify groups in two distinct territories found on different continents and having very different backgrounds.

Specific hypothesis 1: the fight for independence in both territories might have been motivated not only by historical and cultural factors but also by economic reasons.

As concerns the first specific hypothesis, we can now say with a high degree of certainty that Catalan and Southern Cameroonian independence leaders make use of the same sets of strategies in order to construct a different identity. These strategies can be grouped under Wodak et al.'s categories, namely singularisation, unification and cohesivation, assimilation, inclusion and continuation, and finally justification strategies. In addition to making use of the same general strategies, they mostly resort to the same discursive resources, such as nomination and predication or common place arguments. The linguistic means of realisation are also very similar when we move from one territory to another, as evidenced by the use of positive and negative characterisation and diction, metaphor, storytelling, deontic constructions or possessives. Therefore, results have confirmed that nationalist leaders in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons share a common objective.

Specific hypothesis 2: The differences between Catalan and Southern Cameroonian speeches may be the result of geographical, cultural and political differences between both territories.

As concerns our second specific hypothesis, it goes without saying that the differences between Southern Cameroons and Catalonia when it comes to separatist discourse are the result of geographical, political and cultural differences between both territories and people. These differences are mostly felt in personal preferences. To begin with strategies, as we mentioned before, Southern Cameroonian activists do not rely on singularization strategies as much as the Catalan leader we studied. This can be understood when considering the fact that Catalonia is an old nation while Southern Cameroons is quite a recent construct. Moreover, Catalonia is more developed and better organised than Southern Cameroons, thus making it possible for the Catalan leader to make use of a great deal of historical facts and reliable statistics to idealise his territory. This situation can also explain why we identified more instances of continuation strategies in Catalan discourse. On the other hand, we realised that

to justify the struggle for independence, Southern Cameroonian leaders use some argumentation schemes which are not used in Catalan discourse. For instance, intertextuality may be used in both nationalist movements, but the topos of religion, which is almost absent from Artur Mas's speeches, is a very important argumentation scheme in Southern Cameroonian nationalist discourse. This topos is evidenced by constant references to the Bible as well as the use of Biblical metaphors. Southern Cameroonians also lay more emphasis on human rights violations, through strategies such as storytelling or diction. This specific argumentation scheme, is not that developed in Artur Mas's speeches.

6.9 General Appraisal of sub-state nationalism and suggestions for further research

This work was aimed at studying sub-state nationalism amongst two minorities in very different geographical contexts, namely Catalonia and Southern Cameroons. It was motivated by the assumption that both territories are home to linguistic minorities within bigger political entities and have witnessed activities of various groups aiming at independence. Our study thus fell within what is known in scholarly research works as sub-state nationalism, that is the sense of cultural separation and difference that minorities can feel when relating to members of the majority group within a country, and the political manifestation of such feelings. Nationalism, as widely accepted in academia, is a social construct, rather than a natural or genetic thing (Anderson, 1991). Being a social construct, nationalism is therefore designed, enforced, redefined and even deconstructed in discourse (Wodal *et al.*, 1999). This is why we decided to carry out a study of the discursive construction of nationalism in Southern Cameroons and Catalonia. More specifically, this work which fell within Critical Discourse Analysis aimed at analysing pieces of discourse, that is, political speeches and some open letters, in order to bring out the different linguistic strategies used by independence activists in order to create a separate identity, enforce the thus created identity and push for the independence of the nations they have been constructing. This research work

which was mainly guided by Wodak *et al.*'s Discourse-Historical approach and complemented by Chilton's Discourse Space Model was meant to be a combination of traditional CDA methods and the use of technological tools as utilised by Corpus linguists. Traditional methods to CDA focus on a close, detailed, systematic and qualitative analysis of pieces of discourse and helps researchers draw conclusion that are more reliable than those that might have been obtained by using technological tools. Nevertheless, we found that the use of concordance software (Antconc) could help us obtain statistics which further illustrate the points we had made.

This research work however was faced with a lot of limitations which might be dealt with in further research endeavour related to the construction of national identity in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons. First of all, because of time and space constraints, the work carried out was limited to pieces of discourse released between 2010 and 2015. Given the fact that nationalist discourse in both territories started far before our time scope, subsequent researchers may decide to adopt a broader scope and possibly investigate the extent to which nationalist discourses in both territories have evolved over time. In addition to the foregoing, researchers interested in the construction of national identity in Catalonia and Southern Cameroons may pay greater attention to similar research works which were carried out in other linguistic and cultural contexts. Correlating such works to research on Catalonia and Southern Cameroons may provide more information about strategies used by nationalist leaders amongst minorities and confirm the hypothesis that despite cultural, linguistic and geographical differences, the discursive manifestations of sub-state nationalism are often very similar in nature.

Another limitation of the work was the use of only one author to represent Catalan nationalism. This choice of ours was motivated by the availability and currency of Artur Mas's speeches, as all through the time scope of the current research endeavour, he was the

head of the Catalan autonomous government which was basically a coalition of most independentist parties in Catalonia. Nevertheless, it goes without saying there might be some specific differences between Artur Mas and other nationalist leaders in Catalonia. That said, research works specifically devoted to Catalan nationalism may investigate those differences. As concerns Southern Cameroons, though our corpus included pieces of discourse from various authors, we could not differentiate them, as this would go beyond the scope of this research endeavour. Instead, the main objective was to find a common ground between all of them and to compare that to what we obtained in Catalonia. That said, researchers who are interested in the discursive construction of separation and nationalism in Southern Cameroons might try to identify differences between leaders who advocate for direct independence or those looking for federalism and later independence in case the federal state collapses. It will, for sure, be very difficult to get research data from Southern Cameroonian nationalist groups, but easier if the time scope includes the years 2016 and 2017 which have witnessed political upheavals which are still going on at the time of writing this thesis.

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Appendices: Speeches

NEW YEAR MESSAGE TO THE NATION BY THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF
THE SCNC AND CHANCELLOR OF THE PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF
THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

Chief Ayamba Ette Ottun

Fellow Southern Cameroonians, brothers and sisters in the liberation struggle of our fatherland,

I am seizing this opportunity, as it has always been traditional, to address you on the eve of the new year 2011 which, in my humble opinion, will certainly open the flood gates to our desired ambition-i.e. the total emancipation of our people from the yoke of a barbaric regime that has annexed, oppressed and enslaved us for the past five decades.

Before going ahead to tell you what we have unanimously achieved in this struggle, let us first pay gratitude to God Almighty who in His infinite mercy and in response to our constant prayers has guided and guarded us this far on the long march to the promised land. Our God being a God of justice and considering that our cause emanates from a historical and legal truth, has been pushing us gradually from one developmental pillar to another, evading as far as possible all confrontational flaws often provoked by our enemy.

It is true that some of our compatriots who have been expecting to harvest even before the crop is ready, have recently wished that our peaceful motto “The Force Of Argument And Not The Argument Of Force” be revised to enable us resort to violence for the attainment of our objective. I want to assure you that judging from the visible achievements so far observed on the ground there can be no room for this silly mistake. We absolutely depended on the validity of our cause to come out with the motto. To do anything now which will negate the purpose of this motto will simply expose us as zombies who lack foresight and intellect.

Dear compatriots, you yourselves have been witnesses to the on-going developments both at the levels of the United Nations Organization and the African Union vis a vis the activities of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC). At the level of the African Commission for example permit me to announce that communications 266/003 was filed under the joint auspices of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) and the Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization (SCAPO). The communications ruling has been obtained in which despites some of its observed flaws

.Southern Cameroonians were recognized as a people who have the right to self-determination.

.That the Government of La Republique du Cameroon abolish all discriminatory practices against the people of Southern Cameroons.

. Locate National Projects Equitably throughout the country, including the North West and South West Regions in accordance with economic viability as well as regional balance.

. Finally the commission called on La Republique du Cameroun to enter into constructive dialogue with the complainants and in particular the SCNC and SCAPO to resolve the constitutional issues as well as other grievances which could threaten national co-operation.

The annexationist regime has obviously disregarded these lofty recommendations, leaving many Southern Cameroonians wondering as to which option we should follow.

On the recent visit of Mr. Biya to Bamenda on the so-called 50th anniversary of the Cameroon Armed Forces, the SCNC considers this a complete non-event. Given that La Republique du Cameroon is imbued with expansionist philosophy, nothing else substantiated that visit.

Through the resourceful efforts of the Vice National Chairman and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Nfor Ngalla Nfor, we have scored several diplomatic victories which have given the Council the widest popularity ever acquired by a liberation movement anywhere in modern times by peaceful means. Within the space of five years, we have become members of the Unrepresented Nations and People's Organization (UNPO), secured the audience of the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva which made it possible for our envoys to lobby for our cause through an address of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE), considered to be one of the largest political grouping in the European Parliament. This gesture led to absolute recognition of our cause by the Non Violent Transnational Radical Party in the same institution. In his most recent European Tour the Vice National Chairman was also opportuned to address some Europeans and Southern Cameroonians resident in Europe.

At the level of the African Commission, a ruling has been obtained which I entreat every educated Southern Cameroonian to have a copy so as to be abreast with current issues. The ruling recommended constructive dialogue between the Government of La Republique du Cameroon and the SCNC/SCAPO within 180 days from the date of the ruling. Whereas the SCNC/SCAPO had indicated their willingness to engage in this dialogue and had notified the Commission on the issue, the Government of La Republique du Cameroon continued to drag its feet by applying for an additional 180 days now expired.

We are not in a position to explain what La Republique is now hatching to say why it is reluctant to fix an agenda for the proposed constructive dialogue but we can inform you that the said communication 266/20003 will be revisited in February 2011 consequent upon objections raised by our counsel. I call upon all of you fellow compatriots, to be

more hopeful now than ever before and implore you to be extremely vigilant to watch out against any surprise that our enemy is likely to spring up to delay and frustrate our hope. Unity amongst the rank and file of Southern Cameroonians is of course an absolute prerequisite for us to attain our lofty objectives of freedom from enslavement.

As I speak to you today, a new nation will soon be born in Africa when the people of Southern Sudan vote on January 9th 2011 to take their destiny into their own hands. All indications point to the fact that the people of Southern Sudan are resolved to vote for separation and freedom. Southern Cameroonians should not rest on their laureates but redouble their efforts to emulate the examples of others who have conquered the forces of oppression, suppression and subjugation. Freedom is indeed within our reach so we must make the last effort to achieve it and join our rightful place in the community of free, sovereign nations of the world.

During the year 2011 and to be exact, on 1st October Southern Cameroonians too are poised to celebrate the golden jubilee of our independence. Plans are being concretized as to the form and shape of the celebration. You will be adequately informed about everything. But first of all let's unite to keep off the vultures of la Republique from occupying our God-given land which they are exploiting for their selfish ambition.

Rest assured ladies and gentlemen that our right to self-determination has only been delayed, but can never be stopped, because we have a just claim to it.

I take this opportunity to warn those of our compatriots who are fraternizing with our enemy and thereby jeopardizing our interest. Presently, many of these people who occupy sinecure jobs are criss-crossing our territory compelling Southern Cameroonians to register to vote in the 2011 presidential elections whose results are a foregone conclusion. Any participation in these elections will only spell doom for our cause. Nobody should bother to register for those ill-fated elections.

I call upon Southern Cameroonians at home and in the Diaspora to explore ways and means to hasten the coming of the day when we shall say we are free at last!

To our friends in the international community, we thank them for their support and urge them to go the extra mile to place our matter on the agenda of the UN for a speedy solution in our favour. Shall we cry tears of blood before people come to our assistance? Sitting on the fence indicates they are siding with our enemy.

Finally, Fellow Compatriots, the year 2011 will be a successful year for our liberation struggle. We continue to thank God for his guidance and sustenance. He will surely lead us through.

I wish all of you a happy and prosperous new year 2011.

Chief Ayamba Ette Otun

National Chairman

SCNC

Speech of the chair of the Southern Cameroon's National Council(SCNC)

SCNC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN - CHIEF AYAMBA ETTE OTUN'S ADDRESS
TO THE NATION ON THE OCCASION OF THE 49TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONS.

Fellow Southern Cameroonians,

Dear Compatriots,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On the occasion of the 49th Anniversary of our Independence, I send you warm and hearty greetings from our historic capital of Buea where the state house – the SCHLOSS – which was the residence of our Prime Ministers Dr. Endeley, John Ngu Foncha and Ngum Jua, has become a desolate, ruined structure, inhabited by vipers and large lizards. Its beautiful gardens have become a forest where game can be hunted.

I bring this to you as a sad but vivid reminder of our rich legacy which has been destroyed by the annexationist regimes of la Republique du Cameroun in attempt to destroy our nation, its rich cultural heritage and its democratic institutions. We thank God that under the leadership of the SCNC, all patriotic Southern Cameroonians have mounted a stiff resistance to challenge and block their attempts to make our country their footstool. When we shall have attained sovereignty which is our ultimate goal, we shall rehabilitate the “Schloss” and other monuments which now lie in ruins under the corrupt and bankrupt regimes which have been lording it over us for the past 49 years.

Sovereignty, we have always said, is a right granted to all people on planet earth by international law. But the political situation of Southern Cameroons is an intriguing one. When the UN called for decolonization, it was a straight forward issue but it was botched up by Britain which administered the trust territory of British Southern Cameroons. While France granted independence to French Cameroun, we were compelled to go through a referendum to gain ours, which turned out to be naked annexation and subjugation by la Republique du Cameroun. This means that the British simply transferred their authority over British Southern Cameroons to la Republique du Cameroun which has for 49 years exercised iron fist rule over our peace-loving people.

Over 233,000 Southern Cameroonians on 11th February 1961, voted for “independence” by joining la Republique du Cameroun NOT for “enslavement” by exchanging colonial masters. While asserting our right to celebrate 1st October 2001 as our 40th Independence anniversary, the cream of SCNC leadership was arrested, brutalized, tortured and incarcerated for long periods. Prior to that date, the occupation forces of la Republique du Cameroun had orchestrated a diabolical plot in 1997 during which they arrested several dozens of Southern Cameroonians in the so-called “terrorist attacks” carried out sporadically in parts of Southern Cameroons. They were later

transferred to Yaounde where they faced a military tribunal which tried them in French, an alien language they did not understand. Some were sentenced to life imprisonment while others received long jail/sentence for crimes they didn't commit.

Most of them died as a result of torture inflicted on them such as Julius Nguh Ndi, Philip Tete and last but not the least Pa Ndifet Zacharia Khan, who passed away just three months ago as a result of torture he was subjected to in 1997. At this juncture fellow citizens, I invite you to observe a minute of silence in memory of these and other martyrs of ours who have died in the course of the liberation struggle to free Southern Cameroons from the stranglehold of our oppressors - la Republique du Cameroun. May their souls Rest in Perfect Peace. Amen.

That done, let me reassure you that they did not die in vain because the struggle for freedom is on course and that we are doing everything possible to extricate ourselves from bondage and also ready to pay the ultimate price to achieve freedom and sovereignty for our people, using pacific means which conform with our Motto: "The Force of Argument, NOT the Argument of Force". While there are many who believe that continuation with that philosophy has prolonged our bondage, we wish to reaffirm that we have scored several goals recently because of our pacific approach. That doesn't mean that we are not examining other options to accelerate the pace of our struggle to freedom.

For now, let's give reason a chance, while maintaining the absolute right to change strategies when the time is ripe. On July 3rd 2009, the AU published the ruling of the ACHPR on Communication 266/2003 which the SCNC and SCAPO filed at the Commission on our matter against la Republique du Cameroun. After admitting that Southern Cameroonians are a distinct people in many ways that Commission failed for obvious reasons to pronounce itself on the issue of our sovereignty and right to self determination.

But it called on la Republique du Cameroun to within 180 days go for "Constructive Dialogue" with the SCNC and SCAPO under the auspices of the Commission. La Republique du Cameroun apparently snubbed the request and we learnt not too long ago, that they (la Republique du Cameroun) asked for an additional 180 days to carry out the exercise. The additional 180 days period also elapsed in July 2010. While our common position is ready, we doubt the good faith of la Republique du Cameroun which is prolonging or delaying action in order to continue to exploit, plunder and loot our rich natural resources for their exclusive development. The situation is being closely followed up by the SCNC hierarchy as to what to do next.

We call upon our adherents and supporters not to panic as this is certainly not the dead end yet because the light at the end of the tunnel has been seen as we crisscross the globe looking for new friends and consolidating our relationships with old ones.

While out of the country for nearly three months Nfor Ngala Nfor, the Vice Chairman, established SCNC structures in several European countries among other important

diplomatic activities. We pay him tribute for his untiring efforts to gain freedom and sovereignty for our Motherland Southern Cameroons. While also paying glowing tribute to Southern Cameroonians in the diaspora for their constant financial support to keep the liberation struggle afloat, we appeal to fence sitters to remember that they should join their counterparts and also make generous contributions towards our freedom from enslavement. Without money, talk about sovereignty is a futile exercise. But with money our objectives can be attained within a reasonable period of time.

During the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of his country early this year, President Paul Biya said it marked the beginning of a year-long series of activities to culminate with those of unification on October 1st 2011. Let me make it abundantly clear that October 1st next year will be celebrated with pomp and gaiety as the golden jubilee of our independence. The SCNC is making concrete plans towards that day. It is not Biya who will tell us how to celebrate our birthday which he has never recognized.

We have therefore allowed this year's celebrations to take place in the various LGAs and Counties because we are conserving energies towards that event in 2011. During their 50th independence anniversary President Paul Biya also announced an imminent visit to Bamenda for the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of his armed forces.

Why Bamenda or anywhere in Southern Cameroons which was never part of la Republique du Cameroun? Frantic preparations are being made towards that visit to which we say No! because the visit is meant to display his military might for the intimidation of Southern Cameroonians who are clamouring for self determination . We call on all bona fide Southern Cameroonians to boycott that visit and stay at home. If he is coming in the name of justice and peace as head of state of a neighbouring country, we will give him a befitting welcome to our country. Vigilance must be our watchword hence forth. How can we welcome a conqueror who wants to wipe Southern Cameroons from the world map? I will not be doing justice to myself and to millions of you listening to me, if I fail to address the issue of the 2011 Presidential elections especially under ELE CAM.

Since we know that they will not be free, fair or transparent and that we have no stake in them, it will be needless registering for them because the results have been programmed in advance and the winner said to be a "natural" candidate already known. Southern Cameroons practiced genuine democracy five decades ago and electoral process was an exciting one. We must return to democratic values when we extricate ourselves from the annexationists of la Republique du Cameroun. That is the task that must be accomplished for the flourishing of democracy in Southern Cameroons so that we can take our destiny into our own hands and manage our own affairs, be they cultural, economic, social or political.

To our friends abroad i.e. the UNPO, Transnational Radical Party, the African Union and the United Nations, as well as in the diplomatic community, we express our deep appreciation for their unswerving and indefatigable support, while urging them not to relent these efforts generously offered Southern Cameroonians in their determination to

defeat annexation, domination and suppression which are crimes against humanity and threat to world peace.

All Southern Cameroonians who are collaborating with the forces of oppression are hereby warned to desist from fraternizing with the enemy because of the sinecure positions they hold. They should know that nothing is as sweet as freedom and that servitude can never be replaced by perpetual subservience and enslavement. We call upon these stooges and bootlickers to join the freedom train early enough and contribute their quarter towards the liberation struggle or to be forever condemned by the court of history when the hour of reckoning comes.

In conclusion, I wish to enjoin all Southern Cameroonian patriots at home and in the Diaspora to stay focused on our liberation struggle to free us from the shackles of la Republique du Cameroun which have bound us as slaves for these past forty-nine years.

God forbid that our suffering be further lengthened by whoever. No matter the circumstances and consequences, we should be celebrating our jubilee in 2011 under the dispensation of a free nation and an emancipated proud people who should occupy their rightful place among the free nations of the world.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Wherever you are celebrating please after our anthem, intone the following verse of a famous liberation song which has been a source of inspiration to oppressed people all over the world:

“We shall over come.....

We shall over come.....

We shall over come some day

Deep in my heart

I do believe

We shall overcome some day”

I wish you a happy 49th Independence Anniversary Celebrations, and may Almighty God of Justice, abundantly Bless all Southern Cameroonians

Done at Buea, this 30th Day of September 2010

Chief Ayamba Ette Otun

(National Chairman, SCNC)

SPEECH ON THE SILVER JUBILEE OF THE AMBAZONIAN REPUBLIC (GORJI DINKA, 2010)

Fellow Ambazonians, fellow children of God; 25 years ago this 11th day of November, the Republic of Cameroon accorded Ambazonia legislative recognition as a sovereign nation. On this day the Parliament of the Republic of Cameroon adopted the call by the President of Cameroon Parliament Hon Solomon Tandeng Muna for a conference where Cameroon and Ambazonia would meet on the basis of mutual sovereign equality as they did at the Foumban Conference in 1961. But this time the conference would be to work out an orderly disengagement in compliance with the restoration law 84/01 that has dissolved Ambazonian-Cameroon Union.

On this silver jubilee we need to focus on the methodology of enforcing law against the lawless persons who to this day arrest, detain, maim, and kill many Ambazonians for seeking no other thing than compliance with law 84/01; this law has been fortified by subsequent legal measures which demand of the President of the Republic of Cameroon to withdraw from Ambazonia totally and unconditionally.

In this connection our attention is drawn to inimical activities what is called the anglofool; believing that he is a Cameroonian, he sleeps at night thinking only of what to do to exhibit his zeal of loyalty to the Yaounde clique of rogues, which is pillaging and looting the Ambazonian oil wealth, which accounts for 97 % of the external revenue of Cameroon. One such anglofool got the former Ambazonian acting Foreign Minister Justice Muluh Mbuh, arrested and charged with a newly created crime called secession. Among the exhibits collected from the accused was a magazine called AMBAZ STAR.

The anglofool (a State Counsel though) has now excluded the magazine from the prosecution because facts and law contained in that magazine prove that the offence for which the anglofool is charging Justice Mbuh does not even exist. Pages 15 & 16 of the AMBAZ STAR are herewith attached so as to complement this 25th anniversary address. Page 15 includes the decision of the United Nations Human Rights Committee case Gorji-Dinka-v-Cameroon. The UNHRC summary is: (i). that URC law 84/01 dissolved the union that had comprised Ambazonia and Cameroon since October 1961

(ii). that the occupation of Ambazonia by Cameroon is a violation of law 84/01 as well as international law; (for the United Nations recognizes the entity called Republic of Cameroon as French Cameroon while Ambazonia is English Cameroon and is a sovereign nation distinct from French Cameroon).

(iii). that the call by Fon Gorji-Dinka on President Paul Biya to withdraw from Ambazonia is a call for compliance with the URC law 84/01 as well as international law, and (iv). that by responding to this call with the arrest, detention, prosecution and house arrest etc which forced Fon Gorji-Dinka into exile, Cameroon has rendered itself guilty of violating several articles of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The UNHRC accordingly ordered Cameroon a. to provide an effective remedy to the situation b. to give assurance that it would never again recur, and c. to pay Fon Gorji-Dinka compensation for losses & damages caused. Quite reluctantly the Cameroon government has acknowledged the binding force of the UNHRC decision and has been engaged in working out the modalities for implementing same.

It is therefore a sorry case that while the Cameroon government is working on the modalities of complying with exactly what Justice Muluh Mbuh represents, an anglofool in the Bamenda Legal department is treating what Justice Mbuh represents as a crime of secession. Even a layman knows that there is no territory inside French Cameroon called Ambazonia which Justice Mbuh is trying to cut off.

So that anglofool must be so blinded with his zeal to prove his loyalty to the Yaounde clique of rogues, that he does not realize that he risks becoming personally liable in a civil claim for the malicious prosecution. But that is the anglofool true to type. You will find him in Ambazonian grounds; in the Yaounde regime (as a minister, an MP, a governor, a director); in Diaspora; and even on the internet. Yes, those are the types which anti apartheid South African youths decorated with burning tires as neck lacing.

Compatriots it is not their fault, for the Lord God who initiated Ambazonia's Liberation struggle (and will give us victory sooner than later), is the cause and effect of all things. He has given you the Ambazonian patriot and the anglofool traitor assignments. And to every assignment He has attached a befitting reward; which would come true in the fullness of His time and in His usually mysterious ways. To Him be thanks, glory and honour in the name and through the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; now and forever more. AMEN!

TO THE NATION AND THE PEOPLE OF AMBAZONIA

Today 10-10-10 marks twenty years since the proclamation formalizing the restoration of the independence of our country as a sovereign nation of AMBAZONIA was signed by me.

THE NATURE OF OUR STRUGGLE has been to add diplomatic recognition to the legal recognition our country has. The legal recognition Ambazonia has stems from domestic as well as international law.

THE DOMESTIC LAW includes:

- a) The demise of the Union (called United Republic of Cameroon) and the automatic resurrection of the French Cameroun and English Cameroons that had been rendered extinct by the merger of 1st October 1961
- b) The judgment of the Cameroon Military Tribunal that Ambazonia is not part of the Republic of Cameroon and therefore the call for Cameroon to get out of Ambazonia is a call for enforcement of law 84/01
- c) The judgment of the Cameroon High Court Bamenda HCB/28/92 ordering all elements of Cameroon authority to get out of Ambazonia.

This was the first time in contemporary history that a victim nation got the occupying aggressor nation, to recognize the victim nation's sovereign independence, through the solemn process of the aggressor nation's own judiciary. So we must congratulate the Ambazonian operatives on the terrain whom God used to give us this HCB/28/92 victory.

It has saved our people 30 years of guerrilla warfare. It took Eritrea decades of blood bath to force Ethiopia to recognize the sovereignty of Eritrea. Western Sahara has been in the struggle for decades to get independence from Morocco all in vain even though some countries have accorded diplomatic recognition to Western Sahara. Each has the same type of case as ours; i.e., internationally recognized boundaries separating each of them from the occupying aggressor country.

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW includes:

1. The judgment of the United Nations Human Rights tribunal which has declared that the occupation of Ambazonia by Cameroon has created a situation which forced the Ambazonian leader to flee into exile. The tribunal then ordered Cameroon to put an end to that situation.
2. The Annan Bakassi Peace Accord where Cameroon President signed a commitment to the United Nations to withdraw back to their territorial boundaries as French Cameroon now called Republic of Cameroon

3. The work done by United Nations surveyors who built huge pillars along the international boundary separating Ambazonia from Cameroon and

4. The United Nations drama to impress of all nations during the 50th Cameroon independence anniversary that in international law the Republic of Cameroon is the former United Nations trust territory of French Cameroon and that it is located on the east of the international boundary line which runs from Lake Chad to the Atlantic Ocean via the Mongo River estuary.

LAW ENFORCEMENT: Fellow Ambazonians, you would agree with me that all that we need is the enforcement of these legal texts; either by judicial or extrajudicial process.

IMPEDIMENTS: Our struggle to add diplomatic recognition to the legal recognition of Ambazonian sovereignty has been plagued by two elements.

The first impediment is the fact that our elected representatives serve in Cameroon Parliament and claim that our 6 million people relish French Cameroon imperialism. These MPs constitute the conveyor belt that takes our oil wealth to Yaounde; and brings back to us poverty, squalor, arrests, detentions, extrajudicial killings and forced disappearance; which annual reports of the United Nations and Amnesty International characterize as systematic and wide spread. The moment even 51% of these MPs boycott Yaounde in favor of restoring our own organs of rule, that day would trigger a deluge of announcements of diplomatic recognition for our country all over the world.

The second impediment stems from a colonial mentality or self-contempt which is exhibited by our so-called elites who take offence at being called crickets but relish being called Southern Cameroons (which means Southern crayfish or Southern Njanga). They love being called crayfish and Njanga simply because the colonial master once called them so. But then since we cannot hear the voice of Njanga we have to call them crickets because they are on land and make noise which we can hear.

Instead of asking how can we enforce law upon the contumelious Paul Biya and his Anglophone MPs, the crickets have spent energy and resources in a failed campaign of moral sabotage and character assassination against the Ambazonian leadership. Some act out of ignorance but the ring leader act out of spite. When Justice Ebong proclaimed a Federal Democratic Republic of Southern Cameroons it was intended to spite Ambazonia ; when SCAPO proclaimed their own republic of AmbazAnia, it was intended to spite Ambazonia; when a ghost conference proclaimed the hoisting a British Cameroons Restoration Government it was intended to spite Ambazonia. When the SCNC and SCAPO and RG filed a case in Banjul it was to spite Ambazonia. They are still at Banjul today just to spite Ambazonia because they cannot get from Banjul more than what Ambazonia got from Geneva.

SPIRITUAL DIMENSION I found out since 1985 that ours is a spiritual struggle initiated, organized and led by the Lord God Almighty Himself. That the Ambazonian struggle grows stronger by the day evinces the spiritual dimensions of the struggle.

I on my bended knees therefore beg our young people to understand that what is of God must have Satan on the counter attack. Just as God has us as his vessels of honor so has He made our opponents vessels of dishonor. To each of us He has given an assignment and He Himself will ensure that the assignment is done. And to each assignment He the Lord God has attached a befitting reward.

Our fervent prayer is that He the Lord God Almighty brings us victory in His usually mysterious ways and in the fullness of His time much sooner than later.

And this we pray in the name, and through the blood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; now and forever more. Amen!

God be with you all till we meet again.

Yours fraternally –in-Christ

Fon Fongum Gorji-Dinka

Head of State and Head of the Ambazonian government-in-exile

ADDRESS TO ALL AMBAZONIANS

By

HR Excellency; Fon Fongum Gorji-Dinka

The Spearhead of the Ambazonian Liberation Struggle

Through the AMBAZONIAN LAW ENFORCEMENT ACTION COUNCIL (ALEAC)

On the occasion of the Launching of The Ambazonian Nationality Campaigns

.....

Compatriots of the hour, Fellow Children of God:

I understand that I have been silent as the Ambazonian Head of State but this silence is not of my own making. Everything associated with the Ambazonian revolution has been a matter of the happenstance of the moment as our good Lord and strategy would dictate.

Today, things are happening in a positive direction which requires my addressing you not only in a capacity as the Spearhead of the struggle to liberate Ambazonia from Cameroon's occupation, but more importantly, as that proto-AMBAZONIAN who just like you, still longs for our God's given right to live freely in peace and harmony in our country which we can no longer wait to differentiate from Cameroon by calling it Ambazonia!

There are millions of Ambazonians who right now silently desire this goal --their full and unfettered independence! However, as in every revolution, they would have to be represented by just a few dedicated and disciplined bunch. Yes we have ours! Yes, we can not be different from other peoples who have had to trudge through the tormenting trials and tribulations associated with liberating themselves from servitude. Yes, ours is a very resourceful enemy, but unlike in other cases, Cameroon has this very unique advantage of having taken full control of our peoples' minds thanks to the very important element we as the "several peoples" of Ambazonia have been negligent at appreciating. I am talking about the very crucial prerequisites of survival of any person, peoples, nations or states found in the element of IDENTITY and its accompanying NATIONALISM!

I am very happy to say that we have finally crossed the Rubicon with regards to the fact that our people are irreversibly committed to restoring their independence. But we have to first of all be independent in the mind and this is the responsibility of that individual Ambazonian! What is already self-evident is that those already liberated in the mind are the ones that can be counted upon to be dedicated and disciplined Ambazonians to carry on with the law enforcements efforts. They are the trailblazers to be counted on so that

other Ambazonians would see for themselves the POWERS that can come to us as a united people conscious that they are operating from the position of strength already secured when Restoration Law 84/001 dissolved the Federal Cameroon United Republics in 1984.

Let us be honest with ourselves or die as hypocrites several times over! Can anyone truly say that the world knows that the real name of that ill fated federation was FEDERAL CAMEROON REPUBLICS and not as we came to be called Federal Republic of Cameroon? Does it matter that we insist on the true nature of the constitutional arrangement that could have occurred only between two sovereign states? Does it matter that we act as the sovereign state who understands how to serve its best self-interest by exploiting only those RIGHTS that defines and enhances its already acquired sovereign status? All these are questions which you as that Ambazonian expressing your rights to your Ambazonian nationality, would have automatically responded to in the affirmative.

This is why I must first of all congratulate those of you who have adopted the liberating Ambazonian nationality for breaking loose from those sentimental attachment to a name (an abbreviated one for that matter) that has done absolutely nothing good for our people since time in memorial, except to act as the most efficient medium of Cameroon-inserted sabotage into our liberation quest. It has to be recognized that by you breaking loose from the sentimental attachment to the name that bears Cameroon nationality, you have rid yourself from that colonial mentality, and are now free to examine our demise inside pan-Cameroon from just the operation of facts of our history and nothing else. You as that Ambazonian, have come to realized that you are not to be held hostage to any idea, factions, groups, entities, political movements, and political parties, etc. if there is a slight chance that even by appearance, it has something to do with the offending Cameroonian state. You are that independent thinking person. You are by nature an AMBAZONIAN.

Today, I am happy to note that the youths of Ambazonia, both at home and in the Diaspora are beginning to invoke their independence of their minds. They have recognized the value of solely focusing on the actual tasks of seeking the enforcement of the law and judgments, both domestic and international which demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Republic of Cameroon to the east of the international boundary line from Lake Chad to the Mongo River Estuary. They are not only talking about fighting for their independence, but are actually visibly doing something about it in a concrete way in the affirming of their independence of the mind as AMBAZONIANS.

I am happy that you that hard thinking realists, have come to the conclusion that our struggle has victory at the end, if and only if it is based on Law Enforcement and not that roundabout politicking. That, you are beginning to chant this as the only war cry that would attract attention of those we seek help from is how we will gather power to ourselves and to our cause. The AMBAZONIA LAW ENFORCEMENT ACTION

COUNCIL (ALEAC) is there for you to adopt and deploy as our best and proven tool to activate a source of power we have not yet exploited – the mass movement power from all AMBAZONIANS. I am calling on all Ambazonians to simply proof to the world that they know who they are and what they want—that they are not Cameroonians but Ambazonian, by joining ALEAC and executing its programs.

Let me tell you a story so that you can appreciate a bit about what our collective resolve as Ambazonians can do to generate power to our liberation quest:

In 1993, I in my capacity as the Head of State of Ambazonia, then living in exile in Nigeria, wrote a letter to Nigeria's Head of State General Sani Abacha requesting: (a) Nigeria's full recognition of Ambazonia as a sovereign buffer State between Nigeria and Cameroon and (b) Nigeria's Good Offices to get Cameroon to peacefully withdraw to the east of the international boundary that separates Cameroon from Ambazonia. I enclosed the judgment of the Bamenda High Court case HCB/28/92 published in English edition of Le Messenger News Paper of 10 February 1993

The Nigerian ruler found from his lawyers that truly international law recognises the Republic of Cameroon as the French Cameroon whose territory lies on the east of the international boundary line from Lake Chad to the Mongo River. So General Abacha secretly accorded unofficial recognition of Ambazonia as a sovereign State; and accepted the accreditation of our Honorary Consul General. General Abacha initiated quiet diplomacy to get Paul Biya to arrange a peaceful withdrawal of Cameroon from Ambazonia. But French oil firms in Cameroon feared that this would deprive them of the oil concessions Cameroon had given them over Ambazonian oil fields. So they prevented Biya from going along this line.

General Abacha then decided to force the issue by seizing the Bakassi Peninsula in the hope that Biya would now talk on the basis of: Nigeria would withdraw from the peninsula if Cameroon withdraws from the mainland. French oil companies got Cameroon to instead file a case before the United Nations Security Council accusing Nigeria of an act of aggression. Cameroon called for Nigeria to be condemned and flushed out of Bakassi like Iraq was flushed out of Kuwait. When the Nigerian Ambassador to the UN in his preparation to reply, circulated the Cameroon High Court judgment HCB/28/92 which declared Cameroon presence in Ambazonia as an act of continuing aggression, France saw that the Security Council could pass a resolution for both Nigeria and Cameroon to return to the coastal boundaries as obtained at their respective independence. Since the Franco-Cameroon alliance would thus lose control over the Ambazonian oil fields they got Cameroon to quickly withdraw their complaint against Nigeria.

It is this same Franco-Cameroon alliance that has prevented Paul Biya from withdrawing from Ambazonia as required by the January 2005 Annan Bakassi Peace Accord (ABPA) which states:- "I President Biya of the Republic of Cameroon , in a bid to provide lasting peace to the Bakassi conflict hereby commit myself and government to respect the territorial boundaries of my country as obtained at independence"

You are aware that Kofi Annan had to change his plans and send his UN plane ahead with the UN copy of the ABPA; and then flew out of Cameroon later with Air France to foil the plot by Franco-Cameroon agents to shoot down the UN plane with the Secretary General on board so as to destroy the document. At the Yaounde airport, Kofi Annan and his entourage were searched like terrorists suspects before they boarded the Air France plane to Paris. But the document had already gone with the UN plane direct to New York.

My fellow compatriots listen to me and follow the natural logic of power:

If in response to my request in 1993, Big Brother in Nigeria took action to try to enforce HCB/28/92, you would agree with me that we would get a positive response if we today make a request to enforce the several laws that have added up to HCB/28/92 since 1993, most especially the Annan Bakassi Peace Accord and the United Nations Human Rights Tribunal on Civil and Political Rights Communication 1134-2002 judgment.

What we need is the legal expertise, the exuberant expression of our Ambazonian nationality and then the funds to lay the requisite foundation for the recognition by other states of the Republic of Ambazonia. What we do not need at this critical juncture is playing politics or the appearance of playing to the political games of entities and peoples with no evidence that they have our best interest at heart. As Ambazonians, we know that our destiny is and will always remain in our hands and to do anything less amount to betrayal of our cause.

Certainly, I can tell you that the legal expertise is available – as you already should know, Ambazonia since 1992 had exhausted domestic remedies and its corollary international remedies since 2005. What remains is that we as the resolute people of Ambazonia find all ways and means to ENFORCE all the judgements applicable to our case for restoring our independence. Besides the availability of legal expertise, rest assured that the requisite foundation for our law enforcement campaign has been laid, except for one thing that is lacking ---- the availability of funds.

That is why I feel confident enough to challenge you to set aside \$150k for operation ALEAC; then urgently place just 10% of that amount at my disposal; then watch how God who has won so many battles for us without much financing, would win us this final battle of the recognition of our country AMBAZONIA, by other sovereign states who believe in the rule of the law.

My Dear Compatriots:

You would agree with me that our struggle is a revolution; and a revolution is a war; and war demands strict military discipline namely: “Authority from above and obedience from below.” We no longer can afford to be seeking exemptions from these known and respected rules of engagement. As our shameful history has it, we have done so only at our very own peril and not anyone else.

It is said that God helps only those who help themselves. So I trust that you the diehard patriots, and you those AMBAZONIANS who would be convinced by these patriots would take the challenge and include your names in Ambazonian history as the few who made the sacrifice at this decisive moment to free our enslaved, subjugated and down trodden 6 million unsuspecting people.

Yes! We can free Ambazonia; Yes! We can then shout....We are Free!!! Free at last...FREE at last!

Free for ever as the people of Ambazonia (formerly known as the people of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Southern Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration)

Compatriots God be with you.

God bless Ambazonia

FEAR HAS CHANGED SIDES; AN ADDRESS BY FON FONGUM GORJI-DINKA

Written by Fon Fongum Gorji-Dinka

Fellow, Ambazonians, fellow compatriots

It was today 31 May 1985 that two trucks full of armed police surrounded my Bamenda residence and took me away. Twenty six years later, I have either been in detention, jail, under house arrest or in exile. This was positive proof that Fear had changed sides.

I had with a single mind taken decision to singlehandedly confront the tyranny. I had to first accept death so that fear changes sides and I become free. Fear left me and became the unfailing companion of the tyrant's regime. So when they came to arrest me I said in Keyang dialect: "kprum".

For a long time we have looked around for our own Thabo Mbeki or Jacob Zuma, but all we see on the internet is Babel of confusion. They for self serving reasons try to outclass each other in taking a jibe at our leadership so much so that they even challenge God for using volcanic eruption to create Amba Bay which gives us a natural name.

Unfortunately, when you travel from Ekok to Nkambe you would not count as many internet cafés as the fingers of your hand. So the web is not as important for our over six million people as it is for the foreign partners who need to know about us. This means our website must meet world class standard. That is why I am taking this opportunity to congratulate everyone who contributed both financially, morally and materially to the realization of Government of Ambazonia Official Website for a job well done. You all did it with skill, technique, humility and above all, with the truth keeping in mind that the Ambazonian Peoples Liberation Struggle is led by the almighty God, and Fon Gorji-Dinka is only a puny tool in His mighty hands.

Be reminded that while I was still under house arrest, He the Lord God Almighty got someone in Paris to write in the most authoritative monthly *Le Monde diplomatique* prophesying that

1. a state called Republique d'Ambazone be established between Nigeria and Cameroun.
2. the spear head of the contest against Cameroun is believed to be inspired by the Spirit of God and
3. he was addressing Paul Biya like Joseph the dreamer addressed King Pharaoh of Egypt on the 7 years of drought to come upon Egypt.

That was the first time anyone called our country Republic of Ambazonia. His prediction fails in that Biya does not so much love Cameroun as Pharaoh loved Egypt so much that he handed all his powers to a slave prisoner to save Egypt from disaster.

I am not a prophet but the God we all worship has opened my vista to see that the time to concretize the legal victories which He has won for us is here. So tell anyone who

plans to confuse and sabotage The Peoples Liberation Struggle that I say his arms are too short to box with God.

For indeed "we wrestle not against flesh and blood but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world against spiritual wickedness in high places" (Eph 6:12).

Our prayer therefore is that He keeps us firmly on course. And this we pray in the name and through the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen!

Fon Fongum Gorji-Dinka

51 ANNIVERSARY SPEECH

Fellow British Southern Cameroonians,

My Dear Compatriots,

As we commemorate the 51st anniversary of our confiscated independence, today 1st October 2012, I have the honour to bring you a message of good hope.

The truth has never been defeated by falsehood. Nor has darkness ever triumphed over light and brightness. And we all know that evil has never defeated goodness.

Last year on this same day, for the first time in our legitimate and legal struggle to restore our sovereign statehood, we defied troop reinforcement and intimidation and in large numbers we gathered in our National Capital, Buea, for the 50th Anniversary Commemoration.

Today as we stand in solemn Commemoration of the same historic event, we sadly register the absence of great comrade Fidelis Chinkwo, former Secretary General, who like an army general led the march at Mile 17. Like his fellow Comrade, Prince Mbinglo Humphrey and others before, Dr Martin N. Luma, Ambassador Martin Epie, Albert W. Mukong, Regina Mankefor, Hon. P. P. Nkwenti, Philip Tete, George Shinyuy, Patrick Mbunwe, Daniel Ndifon, among others, who, in the hands of the enemy sacrificed and paid the supreme prize for our FREEDOM, we shall forever remember and honour them by remaining faithful to the cause for freedom and sovereign independence. May we observe a minute of silence for all our fallen heroes and heroines! Amen!

Last year's commemoration was remarkable for the heavy turn out of leaders and activists from all over our national territory. It left its mark most especially by the confidence and high spirits demonstrated at the GMI, Public Security, where more than four hundred arrestees were detained. Our appearance in court on October 4th itself was a land mark occasion in the history of Buea Court. I salute you all for your courage and the message of the nonviolent struggle for freedom, justice, democracy and independence you sent to the world on that day. It was a message of solidarity, triumph of Justice over injustice and Truth over evil.

Here today we are again gathered to affirm our inalienable right to self determination and to be masters of our destiny as the rightful owners of this land, British Southern Cameroons. Under international law we here declare that as British Southern Cameroons was not an integral part of French Cameroun so is it not and will never be an integral part of La Republique du Cameroun.

For fifty-one years have we suffered all the indignities under the annexation and colonial occupation of La Republique du Cameroun.

For fifty-one years, as a sad consequence of international colonial conspiracy and gross violation of UN Charter, we have existed in the backwoods of La Republique du Cameroun tyranny as its colony ruled by its proconsuls.

For fifty-one years we have seen our natural resources plundered and looted at will while we wallow in abject misery and our children go hungry and the sick die in their numbers for lack of good medical facilities as the population is fed regularly on empty promises.

For fifty-one years we have seen our young ones and patriots mowed to death by gun totting gendarmes as if they were deceased cows and our daughters and women raped and at will made widows.

For fifty-one years we have suffered the most unprecedented brain drain as our intellectuals and skilled young men and women deliberately denied gainful employment and opportunity for self fulfilment have had to flee their Fatherland to escape brutal repression, insecurity of life and death in detention camps.

For fifty-one years, spitefully treated as pre- adolescents and second class citizens who know not their rights, our best scientists, engineers, inventors, men and women of letters, have been ignored and denied their rightful place in society and in the golden book of great men, simply for their background.

For fifty-one years we have seen our seaports, airports closed down and roads that link our towns and regions abandoned while for purposes of assimilation our towns are linked by tarred roads to La Republique du Cameroun towns.

All these and more notwithstanding through the SCNC you have kept the faith and the touch of a better tomorrow shining. You are the valiant soldiers and crusaders of good hope. Under the mighty hand of the God of Justice who dedicated this land our inheritance we will triumph. We are right and the annexationist is wrong for we stand on the side of human freedom, equality, dignity and a fairer and just world as the guaranteed foundation of global peace.

Our claim to sovereign statehood of the former UN Trust Territory of British Southern Cameroons is based on our distinct history, culture, inherited legal system, core values and a distinct defined territory according to colonial treaties which must be respected by all. Above all no British Southern Cameroonian has ever presented himself as le Camerounais français.

Our struggle for freedom, justice, right to self determination and democracy is part of human struggle to build a world devoid of injustice, tyranny for a better humanity.

You are the true agents of positive change and you hold the key to a great future not only for your fatherland, British Southern Cameroons, but for West Africa, Africa and the world. Assuredly, you stand for hope not despair. Thank goodness you symbolize achievement and prosperity and not under-achievement and decline. You stand for the

well being and progress of the many and not the aggrandisement of the few. Those who selflessly commit and dedicate their lives to conquer evil and end human degradation have never failed. They triumph in the face of all odds. No tyrant is ever so strong as to forever keep the people his footstool. The peoples' will power fighting for freedom and justice always triumphs.

Conscious of our inherent right as a people under international law;

Proud of our common identity and determined to defend our self worth, we have refused to remain on the dark side of ignoble history as a people who denied themselves their rightful place in the council of free people.

We are determined to end neo- apartheid of fifty-one years. We are determined to pick our lives from the abyss of annexation and like one awarded a first degree, B.A, (Begin Again) assume our deserved station within the comity of sovereign nations and free peoples.

This is our ordained mission, our historic task that this generation must accomplish, soonest not later. Delay, delays fulfilment!

We are not sounding an alarm bell. The will of the people to right the wrongs of 1961 is anchored on international law. All avenues for dialogue including the Constructive Dialogue recommended by the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) and approved by the AU Summit in Libya, 2009 following the ACHPR Ruling on Communication 266/2003 have been ignored with impunity by President Paul Biya. He does not respect international law and obligations. He knows only the dialogue of the graveyard.

Our right to Self determination and to restore our sovereign statehood is non-negotiable. And our forward march towards this ultimate goal is irreversible.

Should the UN and international Community doubt the resolve of our people to free themselves from the shackles of annexation, colonialism and neo-apartheid, it should, as was the case in East Timor, Namibia, most recently in South Sudan, to name a few, conduct a referendum in British Southern Cameroons. This is a universally acclaimed peaceful and democratic process to resolve such political conflicts.

As we recognise and respect La Republique du Cameroun's inherent right to sovereignty within its inherited territory under international law, so must La Republique du Cameroun respect and treat British Southern Cameroons. In law and international politics following colonial treaties, there are two Cameroons in Africa. The so-called one and indivisible Cameroon is an empty, indefensible political slogan that sounds right only to its architect and singer.

As we know from where we are coming, we have a clear vision of the new society, the New British Southern Cameroons we are determined to build.

Learning from history, even the sad history of tyranny, annexation, repression, corruption, exploitation, the New British Southern Cameroons must be a democracy cushioned by a democratic culture and institutions imbued with democratic principles and practices. While meritocracy, excellence, hard work, honesty, will be encouraged and rewarded, corruption, abuse of office, among others, will under the law, and be punished.

Conscious of the fact that poverty and ignorance are the greatest enemies of man, threatening his security, safety and dignity, these twin evils will be tackled and eliminated. Equal opportunity and self reliant development will be emphasised to end the exploitation of the many by the few opportunists. National solidarity through the consciousness of “WE” as opposed to the antagonistic culture of “WE” and “THEM” must be a guiding principle.

To build a society in which each citizen is safe, secured and is assured of a guaranteed future, the awful damage of 51 years of misrule, underdevelopment and despoliation must be repaired for a firm foundation of progress and prosperity for all. This is to foster sustainable development and enduring peace.

The New British Southern Cameroons must be under the rule of law, where leaders as servants and stewards must be responsible and sensitive to the legitimate aspirations and will of the people to whom they remain accountable.

We must build a society of industry where people believe in the dignity of labour, fear and render to their nation just service for the glory of their Creator.

We must build a society of inclusion not exclusion, a decent society in which each has his rightful place and his legitimate contribution is acknowledged and rewarded. This is the society that builds and inspires self confidence that kindles healthy competition, team spirit: that is a society that is achievement oriented and inculcates spirit of responsibility and ethical values in citizens right from the home. This is the New British Southern Cameroons we all collectively will restore and in faith and hope defend for a better tomorrow for our children.

Here today 1st October 2012 in Buea, we are crossing the Jordan to repossess our land, the only divine inheritance we have on planet earth. In faith and courage, never again shall we look back. No!

For long we have, in the spirit of good neighbourliness, held out the Olive Branch to La Republique du Cameroun. This should not be misconstrued to mean weakness and indecision. NEVER! It is a mark of faith, the concrete evidence of a principled people of good will, maturity and moral authority in what we stand for and defend.

La Republique du Cameroun should rise to the challenge of history and read the handwriting on the wall. Any woman in labour who refuses to humble herself and submit to the laws of nature for safe delivery does so at her own peril. The restoration of

the sovereign statehood of British Southern Cameroons has been ordained above and no force or power can stop it.

Long Live the Right to Self Determination of All Peoples and Nations,

Long Live Human Freedom and Global Democracy,

Long Live the Sovereign Will of the People of British Southern Cameroons.

NFOR, NGALA NFOR

Actg. National Chairman (SCNC)

A SPEECH PRESENTED BY THE CHAIRMAN OF SCNC NORTH AMERICA,
JUDE A. OZUGHEN ON THE SCNC NORTH AMERICA CONVENTION

It is fitting to begin this speech by extending our deepest gratitude to the people of Southern Cameroons who have braved this cold to be here today. Plenty of appreciation should be given to the members of the convention committee under the stewardship of Mr. Jerome Lambo for deploying the creative energy necessary for putting this event together. We are humbled by their resilience, sturdiness and unalloyed commitment to the liberation struggle. I must recognize the unbridled commitment of the executive of SCNC North America and above all the members of SCNC North America who have been at the front and center of this struggle, steering the ship, at times, under inauspicious circumstances because of their firm belief that the moment is at hand to achieve this noble goal of liberation. This convention which is the second convention of a two year term of a democratically elected leadership of SCNC North America offers us a wonderful opportunity to take stock of what has been covered and recalibrate the liberation struggle towards a much more pragmatic and result oriented path.

From the outset, this administration wasted no time in deploying its energy in stamping out factionalism and divisive tendencies which seems to be the stock in trade of the liberation struggle. It demonstrated its progressiveness by working closely with other components of the liberation struggle and even though many were apprehensive of its intent, it stayed the course because it was convinced it was the right thing to do. We were not deterred by small talks because we knew that it was only by working together that our noble objective can be achieved in a reasonable time frame. The Coalition Patriotic Front despite its apparent lapses demonstrated by the lack of an operational and enforcement mechanism in the US is the first concerted attempt at working together and setting a cohesive structure poised at achieving discernible progress. Inspiration for this initiative must be credited to the leadership of SCNC North America. It set the ball rolling, hosted the Washington Leadership Conclave and accommodated without any queasiness the enormous logistical and financial burden that such an operation needed.

The membership of SCNC North America has grown exponentially in large part because this administration has stood out tall as one of the most progressive and transparent administrations in the rough and tumbled SCNC political landscape. This administration has pushed for the creation of Twitter and Face book, mechanisms of social media necessary in stimulating participatory eagerness. The corrupt tendencies and moral turpitude often orchestrated by sleazy and greedy elements are of the past. Retired justice Alobwede Ebong's cynical attempt to destroy the movement in North America with a rival faction was frustrated by Southern Cameroonians in the US who sent a strong message that they were tired of the often repetitive drama of an individual hijacking a democratic system because of heinous and greedy reasons. The disposition demonstrated by Southern Cameroonians strikes a familiar chord with the sagacious words of President Barrack Obama on his maiden visit to Africa last July 2009 when he

said inter alia: “Make no mistake: history is on the side of these brave Africans, and not with those who use coups or change Constitutions to stay in power. Africa doesn't need strongmen, it needs strong institutions”. We say this reverently, in no spirit of boastfulness of our infallibility but with gratitude that the giver of Good has blessed us with profound wisdom which has enabled us to achieve so large a measure of well-being and of happiness.

Much has been given us, and much will rightly be expected from us. We have duties to others and duties to ourselves; and, make no mistake; we can't wiggle out of any. We have become synonymous with transparency, accountability and responsibility and we must behave as befits a people with such sterling traits. We must show not in our words, but in our deed, that we are earnestly desirous of achieving the independence of Southern Cameroons.

This administration has always been handy in helping to rehabilitate Southern Cameroonians fleeing away from persecutions from the Republic of Cameroon. While we have been deeply committed to a scrupulously verification of claims of members purporting to be activists of the struggle, in a bid to avoid aiding and abetting any frivolous asylum claim, We have kept our good office at the behest of deserving Southern Cameroonians. The assiduity of the executive has enabled us to register a 100% percent success in that area. The hope is not yet lost for Southern Cameroonians who are wallowing in immigration limbo. Southern Cameroonians with legitimate asylum claims who are in immigration limbo will be unshackled with the counsel and assistance of our office. Unfortunately, some members overwhelmed by an excitement of a new found freedom and spirit of antipathy have reneged on their commitment to the struggle. They have absconded and disappeared into thin air. It is surprising that in a population of about 20.000 Southern Cameroonians in the DC metro area we are complaining of the lack of funds to pull through our major projects. A modest contribution of a dollar on a monthly basis can give us the requisite resources to fund our projects. We are thankful to the Moghamo community who collectively as a people has been a torch bearer of this liberation struggle. Let other tribal communities emulate their example. Let us all come together and commit to be ambassadors of good will for this noble struggle. We can make a commitment here today to embark on an aggressive campaign of reconverting backsliders so that together as a people we can collectively reclaim our fatherland. We should and must do this because the stakes are high and moment is ripe for a definitive fix to this perennial problem of annexation.

This administration has kept the revolutionary fervor of the liberation struggle afloat with the numerous demonstrations and events that it has organized in places of historical import in the US. Recently we led a huge demonstration at the UN plaza in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Independence of Southern Cameroons. At home more than 136 compatriots were arrested of the anticipated thousands who had declared their intent to participate in the peaceful demonstration. We are humbled by the unflagging determination of these foot soldiers. Their stubborn tenacity in the face of

brutality from the Cameroonian gendarmes speaks to the audacity of our resolve in achieving this noble goal of liberation.

We have maintained an air tight relation with the home front by supporting many operations designed to actualize the independence of Southern Cameroons. We have consistently given financial assistance to the national executive of the SCNC on UNPO diplomatic offensives even though we remain apprehensive of where the UNPO route is leading us to considering its fallacious and deeply flawed appraisal of the problem of Southern Cameroons in 2009. We do this because of a deeply rooted conviction that any arena that is willing to listen to our plight is worth talking to, no matter how marginal its effect might be.

We will continue to support the Banjul litigation drive and we are committed to supporting communication 337/2007 which is afoot. We were impressed with the outcome of Communication 266/2003 which came up with the landmark ruling that the people of Southern Cameroons can legitimately claim to be a “people”. The recognition that Southern Cameroonians can legitimately claim to be a people is a position which admits to a logic that is quite simple: the logic takes into account the fact that” besides the individual rights due to Southern Cameroons, they have a distinct identity which attracts certain collective rights.” This distinct identity of Southern Cameroonians is guided by their separate linguistic, ethnographic, anthropological, cultural, colonial, historical and territorial affinities.

The Banjul verdict despite its fundamental aberrations represents a milestone the liberation struggle has achieved. It’s the first time that a credible international instrument has recognized Southern Cameroonians as a people. The recognition of Southern Cameroonians as a people has been hailed as a heady affirmation that the liberation struggle has gained a lot of tractions. This establishes a precedence that can always be invoked in future international litigations. Recently SCNC North America wired money home to cover the travel expenses and up keep of the legal counsel to represent Southern Cameroons in the ongoing communication 337.

The case theory of Communication 337/2007 is predicated on the hardest extreme of self-determination, which was neither the thrust of the initiating complaint in Communication 266/2003 nor was it so articulated unequivocally in the arguments. It is anchored on Article 4(b) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union which in time and space is one of the international treaties that the African Commission is habilitated to implement. Broadly speaking, in communication 337, the state of Southern Cameroons is asking the African Commission to declare the Republic of Cameroon to be in violation of the constitutive act of the African Union with respect to the westward expansion of the international boundary of the Republic of Cameroons to include former UN Trust territory of the Southern Cameroons. State parties to the African Constitutive Act are committed to respecting the borders they inherited at independence. Communication 337 will anchor not only on AU Constitutive Act but also on the UN Charter and other international instruments. It is likely that the Republic of Cameroon

will make the specious, lame and fallacious argument that Southern Cameroons voted to join them in 1961. That argument can obviously be eviscerated with incontrovertible evidence that the union was not sanctioned by any legal instrument like a Treaty of Union signed between the two entities. No such treaty was signed by the two parties and registered at the UN Secretariat in compliance with Article 102 of the UN Charter. In fact Communication 337/2007 compliments Communication 266/2003 in that it tightened the loose notches of the earlier Communication. Our team of impeccable legal luminaries has built an impeccable and air tight case on behalf of Southern Cameroons and they need our support. We must give them this support.

This administration is exploring the possibility of running an office of Southern Cameroons' civil society in New York. This initiative is going to have a two pronged effects. It will enable us to collaborate with nongovernmental groups, form joint ventures with countless organizations and pave the way for the acquisition of grants that can assist us to launch huge socio economic projects in Southern Cameroons. These projects will employ Southern Cameroonians and endear the most antipathetic to the struggle. The office will also give us a strategic access to soft politics and will help us to use it in lobbying groups sympathetic to our plight. These groups will obviously help us to navigate the often complicated labyrinthine of the UN system. The Palestinian Liberation Organization has used this strategy to good effect and we can also use it.

The international ligations and diplomatic operations launched by Southern Cameroons are already bearing fruits and it is only a matter of time for our independence to see the light of day. We are relying on your continuing support. We are hoping that all our members will develop a burning passion for this liberation struggle. The kind of passion that has kept Calister Simangwi working tirelessly to make sure that the organization runs smoothly. The kind of passion that has triggered Mr. Jerome Lambo to continually donate generously to the SCNC North America because of his firm conviction that for Southern Cameroonians to break off from the yoke of annexation and colonialism money is needed to lubricate the wheels of the struggle. The kind of passion that has motivated Ms. Eyang Tiku to be deeply engrossed in the struggle, operating more or less as a pseudo executive and deploying her time and creative energy to ensure the success of our operations, the kind of passion that has propelled Mr. & Mrs. Fankmeni John to ply the road from Delaware to Maryland on a consistent and persistent basis to attend meetings on Sundays in Maryland, the kind of Passion that sustained Mr. Ndam Richard's regular meeting attendance despite his age, the kind of passion that has inspired Ms. Gladys Teke to throw her weight behind many of our initiatives. The list can go on and on.

The challenges are enormous but we must press on because failure is not an option. Not now, not this time, when success is so close. There is the temptation to do things the easy way but we are going to be vigorous and proactive in our approach going forward. We are going to act like Irish boys who would get themselves to climb over orchards walls by first throwing their caps over. Southern Cameroons has tossed it cap over the wall of independence. We have to go after it. We have to stimulate a spirit of adventure,

of common purpose, a positive feeling, a stirring national cadence and a sense of mission.

This is the hope that beckons us onward in this moment of trial. This is the work that awaits us all, to be done with bravery, with clarity and with prayer to the Almighty God.

Long Live Southern Cameroons, Long Live the United States of America and God bless you all.

Jude Agwa Ozughen

Chairman SCNC- North America

MESSAGE OF THE SCNC TO THE PEOPLE OF BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

END OF YEAR 2013, BUEA, BY NFOR NGALA NFOR, SCNC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN.

FELLOW SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS,

MY DEAR COMPATRIOTS,

In the name of the Almighty Lord, I have the honour to address you on the eve of this New Year 2014.

May I begin this address by congratulating you all for your vigilance and commitment to the struggle for the restoration of the sovereignty of British Southern Cameroons! Amidst massive propaganda of falsehood and serious manipulations as well as vicious diabolic intimidation and barbaric repression, you have remained steadfast and undaunted because of the faith you have in the goal that lies ahead, namely the restoration of the British Southern Cameroons sovereign statehood. I implore you all to stand firm, defy all odds and defend the truth for nowhere on earth has falsehood ever triumphed over the truth nor injustice over justice and evil over goodness. Monuments are built for the good that men do not for amassed wealth and number of years in power or lived here on earth!

British Southern Cameroons independence train may be slow but it will certainly reach its destination; reason why the panic-stricken Yaoundé regime has resorted to intrigues, bribery and corruption and systematic use of the gun. Nevertheless, by consistently defying all odds, we have proven to the annexationist colonial occupier of our land that ideas that stand for the utmost good are not annihilated by the cold solitary prison cells or by bullets of the oppressor.

Our persistent defense of the truth, legality and quiet diplomatic offensive is yielding fruit. We must remain consistent demonstrating a high sense of maturity and knowledge of the international system for an oppressed people cannot regain their freedom without winning the sympathy, understanding and support of democratic friendly nations.

Permit me remind you of some of the desperate attempts made by the Yaoundé regime to halt British Southern Cameroons independence train within this year just ending. In a bid to give the so-called “50th Anniversary of Reunification celebrations in Buea” a semblance of legality Yaoundé under the patronage of the Director of Civil Cabinet at the Presidency of la Republique organized a series of debates and conferences in Yaoundé, Foulassi and finally Foumban.

The overwhelming result of these conferences and debates was a shocking boomerang effect as they all concluded that there was no UNION TREATY between la Republique du Cameroun and British Southern Cameroons. Consequently, no legal instrument binds the two distinct nations and peoples together. Dismissing the empty imperial propaganda

further, SCNC Reaction was circulated to all nations of the world. And most importantly confirming the consistent SCNC Position and the historic and legal truth, HE Bharat Joshi, the UK High Commissioner to laRepublique in his monthly Press Conference of June 2013 in Yaoundé, stated categorically that he “has never seen any official document that binds the former British Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun.” (The Guardian Post No.0540, June 13, 2013).

Conclusively therefore, as the two Congos and three Guineas in Africa that differ in colonial heritage, history, political systems and territory have under international law attained their respective sovereign independence, so is British Southern Cameroons entitled to under UN Charter and international instruments.

In the month of July while they were still battling with TV propaganda in Yaoundé, praise singers and numerous lackeys with motions of support to justify the Buea celebrations of the so-called reunification, the SCNC organized its monthly routine National Council Meeting in Kumbo, Bui County.

In typical Machiavellian style, the ruthless forces of la Republique du Cameroun swooped on the patriots and freedom fighters and arrested 84 activists and leaders whom they crammed into Gendarmerie and Police cells under very inhuman conditions. Unable to coerce any statements from the detainees especially the made-up relationship between the peace-loving and law-abiding SCNC activists and the much dreaded BOKO HARAM that has been wrecking havoc in certain parts of Northern Nigeria and have of recent penetrated into northern la Republique du Cameroun, the activists were released a week later without any charges proffered against them. Once again, the Yaoundé regime failed in its diabolic plans.

Having failed in all attempts to block the SCNC and patriotic Southern Cameroonians in 2011 and 2012 from commemorating their independence day in Buea, President Paul Biya unprecedentedly programmed his twin elections on Monday September 30, 2013. Southern Cameroonians under the SCNC committed to nonviolence could not give the bloodthirsty oppressors opportunity for savagery. Southern Cameroonians tactfully dribbled the colonial regime in its own game to a very tight corner.

As crusaders for peace, the SCNC opted for preventive diplomacy and issued a press release to the international community and Diplomatic Missions in Yaoundé. The Press Release, “CELEBRATING IMPERIAL MAKE-BELIEF?” emphasized the illegality of the Buea celebration and advised any invited dignitaries to stay clear of such illegality. Consequent upon this, Yaoundé has been plunged in a dilemma of immeasurable proportions. The date of the celebration of an event that never took place, which Mr. Biya proudly said on

Sept. 30 that it would hold in Buea before end of 2013, to day December 31, 2013, it remains a mystery even to the organizing committee. Only an insane person builds an embankment using sand and clay against a ferocious river. Self-determination is an unstoppable current for change!

Once again, we would like to remind la Republique du Cameroun that we live in an age whereby imperialism and rule by the barrel of the gun are obsolete. By still holding high, our OLIVE BRANCH for the CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE should not be mistaken for a mark of cowardice. On the contrary, it is concrete evidence of our commitment to higher ideals and confidence that truth, legality and victory are on our side. The legendary Reggae icon, Bob Marley, once sang, "You are running away, but you can't run away from yourself".

La Republique du Cameroun should know that the CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE is staring them in the face. They may run away but they will not forever hide from it. Great political leaders are those who read the handwriting on the wall and act positively before the tides turn against them. The independence of British Southern Cameroons is non-negotiable as it is ordained above and it is in conformity with international instruments. Restoration is an Urgency of Now!

As recommended last year when we advised British Southern Cameroonians not to be corrupted and deceived by the empty political slogans about free and fair elections our predictions have come true. Accept it or not the senatorial elections of April 14, 2013 and the twin elections of September 30, 2013 have left British Southern Cameroonians prostituting in the politics of la Republique du Cameroun more frustrated than ever before. How many more times will you be told to "go home" before you behave in defense of your human dignity?

A man incapable of defending his self-worth and a people without the political will to defend their collective identity are like dead fish that can only swim with the current, namely, downstream. No! British Southern Cameroonians are worth far more. We demonstrated our strong political will and collective consciousness in 1953 and from the Mamfe National Conference the Petition to HM The Queen, as of right brought in a new constitution and self-government for British Southern Cameroons in 1954. A lion cannot give birth to a lame lamb!

To la Republique du Cameroun, the Senate, which has taken President Paul Biya almost twenty years to create, is a great achievement to jubilate. By constitutional development of 1957, in 1958 Southern Cameroons had an upper house of parliament. Based on la Republique's hidden plan to annex British Southern Cameroons, President Ahidjo in 1961 rejected the Senate, which he agreed to in a Communiqué with Foncha. It is worth noting that President Biya created the Senate when he was assured that the opposition had been made lame and could not control majority of Councilors that form the Electoral College. This is his advance democracy- that guarantees his Presidential Monarchy.

As was in the defunct British Southern Cameroons and will constitutionally be guaranteed, free, fair and transparent elections will not be an empty political slogan, the New Southern Cameroons will be a real democracy with elections organized by an independent body.

SCNC's mission, like that of the ANC in South Africa, is to give potent voice to the legitimate claims of the annexed, colonially occupied, the foreign dominated and disenfranchised British Southern Cameroonians. The SCNC struggle, albeit nonviolent, is against the most barbaric inhuman system that has held a peace-loving and law-abiding people captive and imprisoned them in their own land.

The SCNC cry is for equal legal rights, freedom, and justice as enjoyed by all peoples under international law. The cry is in defense of the truth and for British Southern Cameroons to assume equal station among the sovereign nations of the world.

SCNC struggle is against humanity's number one enemy, namely, annexation and colonialism in all forms and manifestations. We do not hate citizens of la Republique du Cameroun. Nevertheless, we totally and uncompromisingly reject their system, which they have imposed on us as an annexed and colonized people. This system has subjected us into servitude and made our land their farm for naked plunder. The international community cannot afford to be indifferent to this crime against humanity.

Under divine and international laws that make the land our legitimate heritage on planet earth, the SCNC is determined to wrestle our heritage from colonial misrule and build a democratic nation that offers great opportunities to all its citizens and with an open door-policy to all democratic nations for a better world and greater humanity living in peace based on justice.

Our commitment to a constitutional order which emphasizes strong democratic institutions as opposed to strong leaders that wield overwhelming powers, will be the light house for the NEW BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS encouraging and rewarding industry, initiative, and healthy competition that builds a society that is achievement oriented and dynamic.

We cannot end this message to the British Southern Cameroons nation without heartily CONGRATULATING the Young Sports team for their brilliant victory in the Cameroon Football Club championship. Their defeat of the Canon Club to bring the Cup to British Southern Cameroons against all odds is historic. Now that the Cameroun Cup speaks English, it should forever so speak. Their brilliant victory is eloquent testimony to the fact that in solidarity and with unyielding determination, the impossible is made possible.

We call on all patriots at home and abroad to support our darling team, the GOLDEN BOYS, so that the team represents us triumphantly at the international club championship.

Dear compatriots, the future of our children lies in our hands. They expect and are entitled nothing except that which is honourable, dignifying and decent. We must understand that;

Where truth is respected, there is justice.

Where there is justice, there is peace.

Where there is peace, there is human freedom.

Where there is human freedom, there is prosperity and happiness.

Life is not worthy of its divine mission, except there is unrestricted opportunity for self-fulfillment. That is why God in his infinite wisdom created men free and equal. Painful history has taught us that our children have no future under la Republique du Cameroun. The cup of injustice is overflowing with the tears and blood of the innocent! We can take this no more!

I call on all Southern Cameroonians to rise to the challenge of the moment: bend your back no more for la Republique to ride on. Freedom is your right! Those in bondage know no dignity and progress. They have no rich legacy to bequeath but servitude.

Nothing is impossible except that which we shy away from doing right! Be the captain of your destiny. Live for a better humanity by first freeing yourself from foreign domination. God sent you here on mission. Moreover, to transform the universe for good, live a shared life and transform our captive society, British Southern Cameroons, into a sovereign democratic nation.

In conclusion, in the spirit of good neighbourliness and international cooperation we extend our best wishes to la Republique du Cameroun on the 54th Anniversary of their Independence Day, January 1, 2014.

May the Lord lead us make 2014 the year in which our legitimate dreams and aspirations will be fulfilled!

Long live the crusade for human dignity, freedom and justice!

Long live the eminent emergence of the NEW SOUTHERN CAMEROONS!

Happy New Year 2014!

ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 53RD ANNIVERSARY OF THE
CONFISCATED INDEPENDENCE OF BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

BY NFOR N. NFOR, SCNC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN..

MY DEAR COMPATRIOTS OF BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

In the name of our Creator and Almighty God, I have the honour to address you on the occasion of the 53rd Anniversary of our confiscated independence, 1st October, 2014.

Some may be wondering why, with chains on our necks and shackles on our feet, we should venture commemorating at all! The answer is simple but inspiring. La Republique du Cameroun from inception has done everything in its ability to extinguish the flames of freedom which have been burning in the minds of patriotic Southern Cameroonians to no avail.

As we rise in unison to commemorate this day, we renew our spirits and reaffirm our commitment to, under the eternal Lord of all creation and justice, through Nonviolence, fight for the freedom and independence of the Fatherland, British Southern Cameroons.

I take this opportunity to sincerely thank you all who have remained faithful to this historic and divine calling. The Almighty created all men free and equal and to each people He gave them their heritage to cherish and nourish. British Southern Cameroons is ours and no foreign laws, decrees, edicts; constitutions and guns will dispossess us of our rightful heritage. To surrender to foreign domination and alien rule of la Republique du Cameroun is perpetual slavery of body and soul from cradle to the grave not just of the living but of generations yet unborn.

This reality which faced the peoples of South West Africa (Namibia), Eritrea, East Timor, among others, boldly confronts our generation. Each generation standing at the crossroad of its history must out of absolute necessity answer the question “Who are we?” and “Who is not us?”

Each generation faced with this must painstakingly review its past and take necessary steps to right the wrongs by positive collective action. Blame syndrome and inertia have never solved the problem of annexation and colonial occupation.

Right to self-determination is not only inherent and inalienable; it is equally an eternal right of a people. This right grows ever stronger in an annexed, occupied and subjugated people suffocating under foreign domination and alien rule.

Without freedom, without control and right over your affairs, without full authority to shape your destiny, a people can never live in dignity and prosperity. An annexed and occupied people never progress for their natural wealth is brazenly exploited.

The annexed know and enjoy no peace for they are ruled by the barrel of the gun. What can explain our predicament better than the experience witnessed in Mamfe on July 27, 2014 when our late leader Chief Ayamba Ette Otun could not even be buried peacefully? Even in apartheid South Africa, the ANC had the right to bury the dead! But in British Southern Cameroons, the repressive occupation forces arrest, confiscate and imprison even coffin and funeral programme. This year the occupier has continued to tighten the noose of annexation and exploitation and desperate arrests, tortures, detentions have persisted but we remain unbowed.

Why has President Paul Biya flouted the Ruling of the African Commission on Human and People's

Rights (ACHPR) on Communication 266/2003? Why has he refused to submit to the Constructive Dialogue under the good offices of the African Commission?

The coloniser is always on the wrong side of history for he is anti- human freedom, justice, peace, democracy, the rule of law and progress. While tyrants and dictators always find themselves in the jungles of human history, those who stand for truth and greater humanity have always triumphed. Mankind is ruled by potent ideas and ideals and not guns and decrees!

To the people of la Republique du Cameroun, we reaffirm our position. We do not hate you! We did not hate you when your country was engulfed in a civil war. In demonstration of African brotherhood and God's love, our fathers and mothers opened their doors to those who fled and sought sanctuary.

Your gendarmes and soldiers chasing the escapees to arrest and kill stopped across the international border. Our government gave scholarships to your children for studies abroad and your people who took refuge freely prospered. British Southern Cameroons was your USA, a land of freedom and abounding opportunities.

As much as we respect you as a people, we totally and energetically reject your system inherited from the French. We abhor it because it is inhuman; it is evil. We reject your imposed domination, alien rule, assimilation and the plunder of our natural wealth.

We all hail and salute the brave and courageous proud people of Scotland who after 307 years democratically demonstrated their inherent and permanent right of self-determination.

We salute the respect for the will of the people, the rule of law, the attachment and commitment to democratic principles and practices the David Cameron Government in London demonstrated.

That London did not declare that the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland held together by treaties for more than three centuries that this supra-nation is one and indivisible, proves beyond any reasonable doubt that the Westminster system is indeed a bastion of democracy. Bravo UK! Bravo Scotland!

But as we all know there is no treaty of union or any legal instrument binding British Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun. Under international law any instrument binding distinct peoples and nations is not a matter discussed and resolved in "a mbuh house", beer parlor, at sumptuous dinner tables with beautiful smiling ladies, whatever may be the caliber of leaders concerned. Such an instrument must fulfill conditions set out in Art. 102 of the UN Charter: it must be written and signed by the parties concerned and published by UN.

Dear Fellow Southern Cameroonians, I implore you to be inspired by the Scottish referendum. They have demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt that the will of the people cannot be killed and buried by the passage of time. If 307 years of union bound by treaty have not killed Scottish nationalism why should pretended unification and no treaty for 53 years kill British Southern Cameroons nationalism?

My Dear Compatriots, our march towards restoration is firmly on the rail. National liberation is a collective struggle demanding selfless sacrifices of all patriots.

As we look back and review our current situation we must equally peep into the future.

Learning from our age of hope and promise and the dark-age under la Republique du Cameroun subjugation, we must vehemently reject and cast away everything seen in the evil system. From the good of the age of hope and promise we must be determined to build a system of government that is people- centred, that is, a system of government at the service of the common man. This system is focused and lays emphasis on the happiness and wellbeing of the individual citizen. Until the individual is the focal point you cannot talk meaningfully and realistically of equitable development, and development to empower the people.

I have deemed it necessary to raise this crucial and sensitive issue for last year at the National Council meeting in Buea which Hon. Paul Ayah attended, in an inspiring interactive session delegates from different counties fielded questions on the concerns of their people on what I call the New British Southern Cameroons. Last week at the Southern Zone National Council meeting in Kumba similar questions came up. What is clear is that a national struggle is an investment which must reap rich dividends for all the people, which must redeem and transform people's lives.

The painful experiences under la Republique du Cameroun annexation makes us to abhor and reject unitarism which centralises and concentrates all powers at the centre and in one man. We reject the idea of a strong ruler no matter how benevolent he may be. We stand for an efficient strong system.

At the first Constituent Assembly held in Bamenda in May 2000 a FEDERAL SYSTEM of government starting with the existing thirteen Counties was adopted. For balanced and equitable development there will be Revenue Allocation to the Counties and Local Government Areas (LGA) from the Federation Consolidated Account (FCA). In addition to this the Counties based on their constitutional defined powers will still have authority to raise revenue internally through taxes as approved by the County Assembly. There will be no “prefets” and gendarmes.

We are committed to a system whose policies will engineer healthy competition for self-fulfillment. We believe a happy man, a self-confident man endowed with skills under the rule of law is a great achiever. We believe no one but you can better satisfy what is good for you.

As explained in Buea in question from a delegate from Ndian, the head of state will not have the right to make the issue of proceeds from oil, for example, a taboo subject (“Na ya oya?”).

Your future is bright, very bright in sovereign British Southern Cameroons. The sky will be the limit for each citizen. The land of freedom, rule of law will once more be the land of promise and abounding opportunities for all.

Fellow Compatriots, with you I say this with pride and conviction for I fervently believe in our right to freedom, dignity and to be masters of our destiny. I see it not far from now for the Lord who gave us this land is leading. The Lord of justice has never failed or abandoned the oppressed that lean on him for deliverance.

To hasten our liberation, I call on all of us to sink whatever differences exist. Focus on the bigger picture! Jump on the liberation train and let us unite for national restoration and glory. Let us stop listening to the lies and falsehood from Yaoundé. Our political salvation lies in a united front as in Buea in 1993 to the Nine Man Delegation in 1995 to petition the UN against annexation. Let the interest of the people overwhelm individual and limited group interest.

Our faith in the youths, the students, as the budding force of our nation, the evident hope and engine of our future prosperity, the solid bridge between now and the future remains ever strong. This struggle is your struggle, the foundation of your greatness!

Under la Republique du Cameroun dictatorial corrupt rule of the few Octogenarians, your future has been sealed. In the New British Southern Cameroons with a federal system your place to shape your destiny, participate in governance and attain your full potential is guaranteed for this will be, to paraphrase President Abraham Lincoln, the government of the people, by the people and for the people. You are the dynamic force of the New British Southern Cameroons!

As for our women, the mothers of our nation, the staying- force of our dynamic cultural heritage, the future holds great for you, not only that never again shall you be traumatised by rape or by seeing your son’s skull blown by the bullet of the occupier,

but that with a just and fair system your rightful place in decision making at whatever level is guaranteed.

Let us in solidarity, men, youths and women rise and hasten the New Dawn!

All religious bodies, NGOs, trade unions and professional organisations, you are partners in national reconstruction and nation building. Though New British Southern Cameroons will be a secular state all religious bodies have an important role to play for politics without morality and fear of God will build a morally bankrupt society where self-interest overrides collective interest.

As for our Natural Rulers, their distinguished place of honour will be restored.

I will not do justice to this message to the nation without condemning the reckless sale of land as if sellers have been assured the world is ending tonight. The family land you inherited is equally the heritage of your children and children's descendants.

To those with huge money bags from across the Mungo who rejoicing at the deliberate impoverishment of our people get into shady deals with youngsters, we energetically condemn and call on our Natural Rulers, as custodians, to put a stop to wanton sale of land. This has heightened population dilution with an evident evil agenda. Such evil against a people has never worked!

We take judicious note of the US-Africa Summit President Barack Obama organized in Washington. We call on him to match words with action in using US diplomatic weight and influence at the UN to effectively apply preventive diplomacy to end the Middle East perennial crisis by bringing to reality the independence of Palestine.

And in West Africa, the British Southern Cameroons Question is a political-Ebola needing nipping in the bud. With la Republique du Cameroun persistent provocation any further delay may be far more fatalistic than the deadly Ebola that has claimed numerous lives and placed the world on red alert.

Our condolences go to the nations and families affected by the deadly Ebola Virus that has taken many lives in West Africa. We salute the courage and dedication of the many medical teams across the globe serving and pray that the Lord should lead researchers to get a permanent cure for this deadly virus. To the many governments that have sent assistance we salute their understanding and generosity.

We mourn with those who have lost their loved ones in the Islamist Boko Haram brutal killings of the innocent and pray for the release of those kidnapped.

May this Anniversary Commemoration unite us and strengthen our faith in positive action for the realization of our historic mission. Happy Anniversary Commemoration!

Long Live the Right to Self-Determination!

Long Live Human Freedom, the Rule of Law and Democracy!

Long Live British Southern Cameroons!

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS FOR THE NEW YEAR

2015, BUEA, BY NFOR NGALA NFOR, SCNC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN. (2014)

FELLOW SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS,

MY DEAR COMPATRIOTS,

I count it an honour, to extend to you, individually and collectively, my wishes for a happy and prosperous New Year 2015. It is by God's grace and mercy that we the living are privileged to welcome and celebrate the New Year.

In sending to you my warm and fraternal greetings I challenge us all to look up and depend on God, to rededicate our lives to Him. I call on you to love one another. Let the fraternal bonds of unity, of being your brother's keeper be renewed and strengthened. I call on you to reconcile and love each other for in love and confidence we can do great things.

The year 2014 was an eventful year but all the same with its ups and down. Learning from our mistakes and failures we must in confidence and with God of justice on our side move forward in renewed spirits. As we move into the New Year, let the evil spirit of individualism, self-seeking, greed and treachery be buried. Traitors never win against their people!

To imbue the spirit of patriotism in the young let us build strong families where love, care, sacrifice, sense of belonging and hard work condition and direct our everyday life and relationships. Until you love, you cannot care. Until you care, you cannot share and sacrifice what you value. Until we lovingly and dutifully share and sacrifice, we cannot build the sense of belonging that makes the family a reference point for the child, the mother and the father, not only to turn to, but to run to for safety, security, comfort and unity which in itself is strength and sacrifice if need be.

A people that love, care and believe in themselves are focused and lead a purposeful life. To live a purposeful life is to be an achiever. This calls for hard work, sacrifice, duty consciousness, honesty and open mindedness. To be an achiever is to work in synergy with others. This is what strengthens the bonds of unity and sense of belonging. Man is a community man. And this spirit is put in man by

His Creator who from the beginning said "let us make man in our image."

To lead a purposeful life is to be an achiever. And to be an achiever is to be an agent of change. Meaningful change, change that transforms must begin from your family. Building a strong, united and progressive family where love, caring for one another and selflessness are the cords that bind, is laying the required solid foundation for a strong, united and progressive nation.

The Creator in His infinite wisdom sent you here on mission. You are neither here by your will power nor by accident. Standing on the edge of the New Year 2015, you must ask yourself, who am I? Am I an agent of change for my family? Am I an agent of change for my society and my people? Let us resolve to make 2015 a year of HOPE FOR THE NEW DAWN!

To be an agent of change you must out of absolute necessity discover who you are and where you belong. Some of us have been grouping in the dark pretending to be who we are not. Such suffer from victim-mentality making them slaves of circumstances.

Change does not come to a people by accident, people work for the change they most need. This is to enable them occupy their ordained and deserved place in history.

This requires that the people must know their history, stand in their history and in analysis compare themselves with others and see where on the ladder of human progress they stand vis-à-vis their compatriots of yesterday.

My Dear Fellow Southern Cameroonians!

The lessons of history are inescapable. Not to remain victims of our ugly past that has made Southern Cameroonians a stateless people calls for a courageous and purposeful frontal confrontation of the status quo for the change we most need.

The stark reality is that which does not call for panel beating. It calls for total rejection of the subhuman status imposed on us. To play games of seeking personal favours, of betraying your kinsmen for cheap popularity, of singing and dancing to the coloniser's music of divide and rule, of tribalism and north west – south west divide is to perpetuate our subhuman status and statelessness.

Those harping on the North West – South West dichotomy should first ask who practically created a north west and a south west? From what legal entity did he create these units and why? In whose interest did he balkanise the legal – political entity depriving it of its territorial unity and equal international personality?

The ills of our past imposed to decapitate us as a people demand positive action from a united force to shape our destiny. This calls for men and women of potent ideas, of vision and courage to join forces with the masses that are hungry and thirsty for freedom. We must not live in our past. We must live in the present and work for a better future. While we cannot change our past, we have the capacity to shape our future by correcting the current dehumanising situation in which we find ourselves. Remember, you can't win alone and you can't win by treachery!

No nation is built on individualism, self-centredness, tribalism, corruption, indiscipline, nepotism and no people can master their destiny by working to perpetuate foreign domination and alien rule. Southern Cameroonians do not suffer from dependency-complex. Even before colonial rule we had capable and dynamic rulers. Under white colonial rule we had the likes of Fon Achirimbi, Chief Nyenti, P.M. Kale and those who

declared Benevolent Neutrality in Nigerian politics and gave up their rights and privileges remain green in our minds. These are great leaders, patriots, nationalists, heroes; men of valour whose examples should inspire us rise and act resolutely to put an end to our statelessness.

Neo-apartheid under la Republique du Cameroun cannot and must not decapitate and incapacitate us into rotten maggots fit for the hawks. We are worth more! That is why the struggle for national rebirth, national restoration by seeking the political kingdom first must not only be on the rail, the New Year 2015 calls for national solidarity and intensification of the struggle. None but us are the rightful

owners of this land.

For a subjugated people fighting for their rightful place in human history, what is important and relevant is not your place of birth; it is not from where you come, it is doing what is doable that matters to the cause of national emancipation and freedom. It is doing what is legitimately and legally right to disable the enemy that transforms and builds conditions for the change the people need.

For a people to occupy their rightful place in human history they must have the capacity to defend who they are and who they are not. We must not idle about while the annexationist makes the defense of TRUTH, LEGITIMACY and LEGALITY a crime in our land. Like South Africans we

must confront the criminal and the crime head-on. To end neo-apartheid rule, statelessness, foreign domination and alien rule and put Southern Cameroonians on the path of progress, our immediate task is to oust the occupier of our land and restore our government in our national capital, Buea. This will give us the international visibility, personality and status that the enemy has confiscated for more than five decades.

We are committed to recapturing the political kingdom and establishing a federal system of government, which with multiple centres of decision making will engineer broad based participatory democracy an enabling environment for equitable development to enhance human dignity and freedom. Having suffered terribly from neglect, underdevelopment and naked exploitation, development to empower the human person must be the focal point of governance under the new dawn.

In the New Southern Cameroons both the Counties and Local Governments will be effective centres of development thanks to the autonomy and financial empowerment each will constitutionally enjoy. This will create multiple centres of employment; enable different communities to build capacities of self-sustainable development and citizens to attain self-fulfillment. This is what we mean by equitable

development. This will be a government at the service of the people to empower the people and not a government of exploiters, oppressors, torturers to dehumanise the people we have suffered for more than half a century.

The draconian laws, evidence of the last kicks of a dying horse, Yaoundé regime has just enacted should surprise no one and create no panic whatsoever. The white minority regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe did things. Rather than create despondency, such anti-people measures fired greater nationalism and spirit of non-compromise in the oppressed.

The lesson for us is simple: the more we delay, the more the annexationist regime will sink its fangs and claws into our flesh and life blood and reducing us to carcasses empty our land of its natural wealth. By expediting the restoration of our statehood we assure Yaoundé that our land is so holy for terrorists to find sanctuary so those draconian laws are for the land and people who have known terrorism

The future is great, bright and promising for each Southern Cameroonian. This should challenge and inspire us to unite and build a great nation for our children. This is our challenge, our patriotic duty which we cannot afford to delay any further.

I wish you all a Happy and prosperous New Year, good health, wisdom to realise the change we most need and God's blessings of long life to enjoy the fruits of our labour

MESSAGE TO BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS STUDENTS ON THE OCCASION OF STUDENT CULTURAL WEEK, JULY/AUGUST 2015

I have the honour to extend to you our warm regards and best wishes for grand success in your deliberations for the 2015 STUDENT CULTURAL WEEK. This is an opportunity for you to meet your colleagues in other institutions, exchange ideas and above all, as youths belonging to one ethnic community, one administrative unit and as youths anxious for a bright future, meetings like this offer great opportunities for deep reflections. It is for this reason that I have decided, to address you for what concerns you, namely, your future, is the mission of the SCNC.

You the Southern Cameroonian youth of today stand at the cross road of history. You are stateless and have no future because your Fatherland, God's given heritage, British Southern Cameroons, has been annexed and colonially occupied by la Republique du Cameroun.

The Southern Cameroonian youth has been reduced to a second class citizen denied equal rights with citizens of la Republique du Cameroun. You have no equal rights to education. You have no equal rights to employment. You have no equal rights to promotion and appointment to head a department even if you were lucky to be employed. You have no equal rights to further studies even if you were better qualified. You have no equal rights to scholarship even scholarship from the Commonwealth.

Your parents had to fight to get the Buea University. They had to fight to get the GCE Board. They had to fight to get the Bamenda University. In these fights some shed blood, trekked long distances, spent sleepless nights, incurred hardship because they wanted a better future for you their children. But today, these institutions, obtained at great cost, are being francophonised, assimilated, and dominated by Francophones under the meaningless concept of regional balance and national integration. The message is simple, we do not belong.

Your future under la Republique du Cameroun is bleak!

My message to you is a message of good hope not despair. Your destiny is in your hands. God did not create you to be an underdog of another person but to be the master of your destiny.

In John 8: 32, the Lord inspires us with these words, "And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free".

And what is the incontrovertible truth as far as you are concerned?

1. That you are not and you have never been a CamerounaisFrançais.
2. That British Southern Cameroons, your homeland, and French Cameroun, la Republique du Cameroun, were distinct and equal UN Trust Territories registered separately under Class "B" each with equal rights to sovereign independence.

3. That in Africa there are two Congos, namely, Congo Democratic Republic, and Congo Brazzaville, and three Guineas, viz, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea Bissau, and Guinea (Conakry) and all differing in colonial background, each is independent and exercises its sovereign rights and existence.

4. That when French Cameroun became independent on January 1, 1960 and joined UN Membership in September of same year, British Southern Cameroons was not part of and that by Art. 4(b) of the AU Constitutive Act and international law once a country becomes independent its international boundaries can never change again. La Republique du Cameroun is the successor state of le Camerounais Français.

5. That there is no legal union between la Republique du Cameroun and British Southern Cameroons because no treaty of union in conformity with Art. 102 of the UN Charter exist at the UN Secretariat in New York.

6. That the plebiscite that was held in British Southern Cameroons on February 11, 1961 was not a declaration of union with la Republique du Cameroun and no document was signed in Foumban.

7. That even if a union treaty were concluded in 1961, Southern Cameroonians, in consideration of their subjection to imposed colonial rule by la Republique du Cameroun, military occupation, the plunder of our natural resources, vandalistic destruction of state and economic and financial institutions to distort our history and annihilate our identity, discriminatory treatment in employment, imposed policy of assimilation, the adulterated policy of bilingualism- a euphemism for francophonisation, among others, these diabolic acts of impunities demand and justify the unquestionable right of Southern Cameroons to withdraw from the "union." The right to self-determination is a permanent right of any people bound together by culture, history, language, laws and traditions, and a defined territory in international law. The permanent right of any nation is the right to self-exist and to this no other nation or international organisation has the right to deny.

This is why the SCNC is leading the struggle for the liberation and restoration of the statehood of British Southern Cameroons.

Self-evidentially, we your parents, from practical experiences and the hopeless life we lead daily have come to the inevitable conclusion that you have no future under the Yaoundé Government. The struggle is to build a better future for you. In the NEW SOUTHERN CAMEROONS there will be full employment, a better educational system with emphasis on the development of the mind, soul and hand, greater opportunities for equitable development, promotion and appointment will be fair, just and based on meritocracy. There will be no discrimination. Corruption and embezzlement of public funds, if any, will be fought with the might of the law for the judiciary will be independent. The NEW SOUTHERN CAMEROONS will be a federation with COUNTIES and LOCAL GOVERNMENT granted constitutional powers to decide, plan and carry out development in the interest of the people. There will be no "Prefets"

and no gendarmes. All exercising political power must be elected by the people to whom the elected official must be answerable and accountable if not he/she is voted out.

Know that your country, British Southern Cameroons

1. Had its Government in Buea as from 1954. But President Ahmadou Ahidjo backed by the army, to annex British Southern Cameroons, abolished it by Presidential decree.
2. Had one international airport, Tiko, and three inland airports, namely, Bessong Abang, Bali and Weh. There were also two sea ports, Victoria and Tiko and the Mamfe river port. These have all been closed to make British Southern Cameroons a landlocked country with no tarred roads completely dependent on la Republique du Cameroun air and sea ports.
3. Had its own electricity corporation – PowerCam which was cheaper and more efficient but Yaoundé closed it and imposed SONEL on us which is more expensive, and inefficient.
4. Had Santa Coffee Estate, Government Printing Press, Development Agency, Produce Marketing Board, CamBank, Cameroon Air Transport (CAT) etc. which were all closed down to cripple British Southern Cameroons financially and economically and keep it underdeveloped and subservient. Yet the greater wealth is from our land.

Your best interest can only be served by government that rules by your consent. The governors and prefects that rule British Southern Cameroons are proconsuls appointed by decree. They are not accountable to you. They do not care about your interest. Their interest is to oppress, keep you weak and divided in order to plunder the natural resources as much as they can.

A nation and a people under foreign domination and alien rule never develop. A nation, a people under international law must be ruled by people democratically elected from among them. It is under good laws and policies centred on the will and legitimate aspirations of the people that there is development and the people live in freedom and happiness. And remember in Prov. 29:18 we are warned “Where there is no vision, the people perish...” We are not a people without vision. We must right the wrong of yesterday. This should be your bounding duty; a task, which in unity and solidarity, must be accomplished.

This message is for you, the pupil in primary school, the student in college, polytechnic and university, and for you the graduate seeking employment, you the Okada driver forced by circumstances struggling to make ends meet or you who is employed but not yet receiving salary, a common phenomenon under la Republique du Cameroun.

The youths of Namibia, Eritrea, East Timor, Estonia, among others, suffered same when their nation was under annexation and alien rule. Change came when in unity with their teachers, parents they in nationalistic zeal and patriotic determination resisted and

triumphed over foreign domination and alien rule. With you for your bright future we will do same.

The struggle for national emancipation is in answer to God's will that created all people free and equal and to each people He gave them their heritage – their land. You have no other heritage on this planet earth but Southern Cameroons and without it you are a modern slave under alien rule.

The SCNC struggle is for your freedom, for your right to equality, dignity and prosperity. It is to bequeath to you and your proud descendants a rich legacy and heritage protected by law.

We salute the nationalistic and courageous stand adopted by the Common Law Lawyers. The deliberate action taken by Yaoundé to destroy the Common Law and our Anglo Saxon educational system is aimed at erasing British Southern Cameroons from the map of Africa. We must in solidarity like Namibians resist this and restore our nation for without your nation exercising its sovereignty your identity is lost and you become an eternal slave of a foreign power. If you do not bend low, no one will ride you like a donkey. The time to say NO is now!

The students, youths, teachers, intellectuals and all people of Southern Cameroons in general should be proud of the historic action denouncing assimilation by the SW Chiefs Conference. As the Fathers of the British Southern Cameroons Nation, they must be concerned about the legacy they have to leave behind. Assimilation is modern slavery of body, soul and mind and this decapitates the natural man. The pace has been set and no group should be indifferent.

Without doubt NOWEFU which had long submitted memoranda calling for dialogue between Yaoundé and the SCNC will team up with their peers of the South West so that in one voice they speak as they used to in the Southern Cameroons House of Chiefs.

To end, I call on you all to respect and obey your parents and help them during this long vacation. The holidays should be used productively.

Student Cultural Week successes should not be measured in number of bottles of beer and food consumed and the exploits of the galanite. No! Let it be a moment to strengthen our bonds of unity, historic occasion to exhibit excellence, a period to encourage and build healthy competitive spirit, inspire confidence in those talented in the arts, science and technology to make history. Let the artists in music, poetry, drama and the scientists and technologists exhibit their innovations, inventions and discoveries. If we must become world renowned achievers of tomorrow we must begin today in our small corners. We must dream big dreams and zealously determine to build a greater tomorrow today. Let the Student Cultural Week not be a period for pleasure seeking. Great men and women are never pleasure seekers. It never pays!

The Student Cultural Week should be moments to inspire you to attain greater heights. The sky is the limit for the visionary, the industrious and the NEW SOUTHERN CAMEROONS is your road map to self-fulfilment for a democratic and great nation.

We count on you for the birth of the New British Southern Cameroons, your proud heritage and anchor to greatness. Take this message home, discuss it and spread it all over the land.

God bless our efforts for NATIONAL RENAISSANCE. Thank you for kind attention.

SCNC MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS,
END OF YEAR 2015, BY NFOR NGALA NFOR, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN.

FELLOW SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS,

MY DEAR COMPATRIOTS,

On the occasion of the end of year 2015 and in thankfulness to God Almighty who in His infinite wisdom has helped us whether the storm so far, I have the honour to address you and salute you all for being there steadfast, committed and hopeful.

The year 2015 has been a very challenging and uneasy year. It had its torments but it was not without hope. As the dark clouds gave us chilling moments, with God on our side, so were there moments of the rays of sun shine and the morning star. And this is why we are here for without hope, man, burdened by despair and hopelessness will cease being who he is created to be, man, created free in the image and likeness of his creator God to multiply and rule the world.

From 2000, the SCNC determined to restore the statehood of British Southern Cameroons identified education of the masses to know who they are and their place in history as the priority of priorities. A people armed with sound knowledge of who they are and who they are not are invulnerable to external aggression: they are overcomers and achievers.

Since 1962 beginning with President Ahmadou Ahidjo's speech at the UC Congress of Ebolowa at which he declared among other things that;

1. No new constitution was adopted at Foumban.
2. To deceive and mislead the world they amended their constitution and imposed it on us.
3. No federation was formed in Foumban.
4. What took place in Foumban was the absorption of our nation, British Southern Cameroons, into la Republique du Cameroun which he termed the mother country;

The SCNC saw it a bounding duty to expose the diabolic nature of the Yaoundé imperial regime, turn search lights on the truth and remove the scales from our eyes. We salute all compatriots who have been doing the good job. Armed with the incontrovertible truth- historical, cultural, legal, and political we become invulnerable and legitimately assertive.

To disarm us, falsehood, distortion of historical facts, misinformation and misrepresentation at home has been the instrument Yaoundé has used to conquer our minds. Once the mind is conquered subjugation to slave status becomes very easy for the aggressor.

Mental decolonization therefore becomes a logical means of overcoming our subjugation and servitude. This no one can do for us but us. We must in self-consciousness be our own redeemers to attract the necessary support from our friends.

Yaoundé colonial misinformation and distortion has been taken abroad to sabotage our diplomatic efforts. But every evil has its dooms day. No one can counter Yaoundé's peddled falsehood and propaganda through paid agents and lobbyists in Brussels, Washington, New York, London, Abuja, Addis Ababa, among others, but patriotic Southern Cameroonians who with sound knowledge about their country and their inherent right to a sovereign homeland in conformity with the UN Charter, AU Charter and international law leave no stone unturned.

It is in this light that we salute the new awakening, the nationalistic consciousness in the Common Law Lawyers, the Teachers Union, the Commonwealth Journalists Association and the Natural Rulers, among others, that is tearing down the masque, dismantling the Yaoundé imperial propaganda and exposing la Republique du Cameroun annexation and colonial occupation of a former UN Trust territory in the 21st century.

The General Assembly of the Common Law Lawyers held in Bamenda mid 2015 at which not even the President of the Bar Council of Cameroons, – a Francophone – was admitted let alone given a voice was eloquent defense of the distinct identity of British Southern Cameroons. British Southern Cameroons by international law is not and can never become an integral part of la Republique du Cameroun whose boundaries by the principle of international jurisprudence of *uti possedetis juris* and critical date became inviolable and immutable on January 1, 1960. The AU Constitutive Act, Art. 4(b) upholds and defends this legal instrument. The right to the existence of nation states in accordance with inherited colonial boundaries is a matter of law and not political propaganda and sloganeering. President Biya's la Republique du Cameroun may pretend to ignore and run away from the Constructive Dialogue approved by the AU Summit following the African Commission Ruling but it cannot hide from the verdict of the law.

As we call on the Common Law Lawyers to stand firm both in word and deed we assure them the Southern Cameroonian people are solidly behind them for they are not defending self or clique interest but collective interest of a people and posterity. The Common Law and the Anglo-Saxon educational system and heritage constitute the soul of the British Southern Cameroons nation which [la Republique du Cameroun for its prestige and grandeur cannot put to the torch.

As we laud the dynamic efforts of the Common Law Lawyers, we call on them to formally reinstate the Southern Cameroons Bar Council and take necessary steps to affiliate with the Commonwealth Lawyers Association (CLA) and others. In defending our rights and identity we must be aggressive, seek the open space where free men meet freely and help contribute to the building of a better world and greater humanity. The bottle filled with Beaufort in which Yaoundé has forced and believes it has corked

British Southern Cameroons in must be shattered so that we are heard and seen in the council of free men of vision and integrity. We are worth far more than the label and tag put on us by Yaoundé.

Equally laudable is the sun shine of hope given the Southern Cameroonian people by our fathers, the Natural Rulers of the South West. Recalling that the existence of the South West as opposed to the North West is la Republique du Cameroun colonial product of divide and rule, we are reminded by our history that in the good old days of British Southern Cameroons all our Natural Rulers, as fathers of the nation, spoke with one voice in the interest of their people and their God-given heritage. At the Mamfe Plebiscite Conference of May 1959, for example, when Fon Achirimbi declared that Nigeria is “Water” and French Cameroun is “FIRE” his prophetic voice was on behalf of all the Natural Rulers. They were one and indivisible for a common good.

While saluting the pace set by our Natural Rulers of the South West we remind all our Natural Rulers of their laudable contribution in the building of the British Southern Cameroons nation with the constitutional creation of the Southern Cameroons House of Chiefs (SCHC) which like the UK House of Lords gave British Southern Cameroons a bicameral legislature. In view of the fact that in unity and solidarity, more is done and effectively too, the enslaved people of Southern Cameroons while pledging their total support appeal to their fathers to jettison la Republique du Cameroun dividing line and from one conference take a firm stand on the restoration of the statehood of British Southern Cameroons. They violate no law, municipal or international by so doing. However it is an established fact that he who obeys and respects decrees and laws that make him a slave is as guilty as he who imposes.

It is a fact of history that Yaoundé at the UN on April 21, 1961 voted against forming a federal union of two equal states with British Southern Cameroons. By voting against they rejected forming the federal union with us. It is we who should question their illegal rule in our country and not them at gun point questioning our right to restoration of our statehood.

The so-called federation of October 1. 1961 – May 20 1972 was a phantom: it was a unitary system enveloped in federation to deceive the world. UNGA Resolution 1608 of April 21, 1961 was never implemented thus no union in conformity with UN Charter Art. 102 and international norms was formed between British Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun.

As Senator Nfon V.E. Mukete called on Southern Cameroonians to rise up and speak out in defense of who they are, in defense of their inherent rights, we call on the Teachers Union to understand the language and tactics of Yaoundé. Any lamb that goes to dance with baby lions must know that it will soon be pepper soup for their breakfast. The destruction of our Anglo Saxon educational system is sending a sharp knife through the core of our inherent identity. Education deals with the cultural heritage, core values, vision and principles of life of a people. Assimilation is the instrument by which all these are destroyed to facilitate and concretise annexation. With this attained the people

are transformed into play things and footstool of the oppressor. The people simply cease being.

In the face of what is happening in our colleges and higher institutions of learning, the message is clear – our children have no future.

Time has come for us not only to speak out but act in defense of who we are, our rights and who we are not.

Conscious of the fact that the permanent solution lies in de-annexation and restoration of a sovereign independent Southern Cameroons nation we call for unity and solidarity. While we laud the openness, nationalistic conscious awakening from different angles and interest groups, we call for synergy, a common point of convergence for a common solution.

This requires that we see goodness in every genuine effort and support it. In this regard let each and every one of us, for our individual and collective interest and above all for the dignity of our children and national integrity of our fatherland let us all jettison Yaoundé's imposed NW-SW dichotomy. This does not serve our collective interest. And the greatness of a people is never measured in their division and domination but in national unity, national vision and collective defense.

As stated in last year's message to the nation, a restored British Southern Cameroons sovereign statehood on a federal basis in which Counties will have direct revenue allocation from the federation account for the development of the land and people, this will serve every Southern Cameroonian far better than the so-called decentralisation or the so-called ten state federation which some ignoring the legal facts preach. Decentralisation is euphemism for annexation, assimilation, domination, uniformity, conformity to annihilate British Southern Cameroons for the prestige and grandeur of la Republique du Cameroun-one and indivisible.

The concept of federation does not exist in the mind set of people nurtured in Napoleonic Constitutionalism and that explains why President Biya has never pronounced the word. But in Buea he acknowledged Buea as the capital of Southern Cameroons. That is victory for the SCNC, victory for the Southern Cameroonian people and right to restoration of their sovereign statehood.

The drive to the restoration of British Southern Cameroons statehood is unstoppable. It is legitimate. It is our legal, political, historical and our cultural right. To do otherwise is to betray who we are, the equals of other free human beings on the African continent and beyond.

While intensifying education, mobilisation and organisation of our people for freedom and progress in a sovereign fatherland the SCNC plans to intensify diplomatic offensive in 2016. La Republique du Cameroun wall is cracking and the sooner it loosens its grips on British Southern Cameroons the safer and better for it. Every human product has its expiration date inherent in its bowels.

We call on all patriotic British Southern Cameroonians both at home and abroad to fasten their belts, reaffirm their commitments to the struggle for the coming year promises greater challenges and more sacrifices. We must double our steps to forestall the greater kicks of la Republique du Cameroun dying horse. Imperialism has no place in this modern age and we can tolerate it no longer.

Dear compatriots, our children need a better future. This Yaoundé has denied them as we their parents were and have been denied.

To hasten our liberation and restoration in freedom and dignity I call on you all to bury the blame syndrome, finger pointing, and the so-called NW/SW dichotomy. What unites us – territory defined in inherited colonial treaties, history, culture, common law, language, world view, among others, are far weightier, tangible and noble than the coloniser's imposed evil for his prestige and grandeur.

The history of human progress is determined and measured by man's consciousness and positive action to subdue evil that goodness may bloom and blossom not for self but for the common good. The world is moving forward and not backwards. And the actors are the free men and women.

Only free men and women progress for they occupy centre stage in their lives and in the lives of their respective nations. Occupying centre stage they contribute to human excellence.

Southern Cameroonians do not suffer from dependency-complex that they must forever be subjects of foreign domination and alien rule.

From 1916 to 2016 marks one hundred years since UK recovered the territory she lost to Germany following the Berlin Conference. On recovering this territory which was given birth to as an English Baptist Missionary colony named Victoria, Britain administered it for convenience as part of her colony of Nigeria throughout the League of Nations Mandate and United Nations Trusteeship periods. This was all against the manifest wish of the Southern Cameroonian people.

With botched decolonisation, consequent upon international colonial conspiracy against all principles of international law and legitimate expressed aspirations of the people in 1961 Southern Cameroons was simply abandoned for the annexation and colonial occupation of la Republique du Cameroun.

One hundred years of foreign domination and alien rule of impunities it is high time for us to in unity tell the world and humanity that our cup of patience and endurance has run over. Enough is enough!

Happy and Prosperous New Year 2016

Long Live the Right to Self-Determination

Long Live the Determined Will of the People of British Southern Cameroons to be
Masters of their Destiny

Long Live British Southern Cameroons

Done in BUEA, this December 31st 2015.

His Excellency, BANKI MOON, The Secretary General,

United Nations,

Room G. A United Nation,

New York, U.S.A.

Your Excellency,

RE: PLOT BY PRESIDENT PAUL BIYA AND M. JOHN FRU NDI WITH HIS
POLITICAL COHORTS AND SOME MISGUIDED SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS TO
DESTROY THE RESTORATION OF THE NATIONHOOD OF THE SOUTHERN
CAMEROONS

The Council: Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement (SOCALIM), The Governing Body and The Custodian of the Territory and the people of the Southern Cameroons STILL UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS in WEST AFRICA, has monitored and observed critically from the very illegal 20th May — Fake National Day of Unity, Fifty Years of Independence and non-existent ideology called "Unification or Re-unification" up to August 10, 2011 — Mr. John Fru Ndi's Press Conference in Yaounde and May 26th— 2st Anniversary celebrations of the S.D.F.; indeed, 21 wasted years by the innocent Southern Cameroonians who were cajoled by Mr. John Fru Ndi that he could become the President or the Head of State of La Republique du Cameroun. Which indeed, could never happen because the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun are two very distinct Nations or Countries, as confirmed by President Paul Biya in his end of year speech on 31/12/2010 televised over the Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV). Also read Prof. Joseph Owona's declaration even for the post of Prime Minister for Mr. John Fru Ndi he is dreaming and Terrible Political Administrative Mess that we find ourselves in La Republique du Cameroun; which Mr. John Fru Ndi knows very well yet, he pretends to behave as if he does not know, in order to enrich himself. "Cameroon Post No. 0197 Thursday Edition January 13 — 16".

Mr. Jo. Fru Ndi Connived and conspired with President Paul Biya of La Republique du Cameroun to make an open declaration in the Presidency of La Republique du Cameroun on the 20. of May, 2011, during the banquet offered by President Paul Biya for the celebration of their fraudulent May 20th as a Day of National Unity and something called Re-unification, which does not exist in reality.

Mr. John Fru Ndi declared openly that in a conversation long ago with Hogbe Nlend, a citizen of La Republique du Cameroun and also one of the former Ministers of La Republique du Cameroun told him that "Mr. John Fru Ndi, You are wasting Your time. An Anglophone can never be the Head of State of Cameroon (La Republique du

Cameroun) and that they, the citizens of La Republique du Cameroun will always sit and decide on behalf of all Cameroonians." Yet he is participating in the elections that he knows very well that he can never be the Head of State of La Republique du Cameroun.

Serious notes should be taken of the negative role being played by his cohorts such as: Mr. Nfor Ngalla Nfor, Chief Ayamba, Dr. Kevin Ngumne, Government on Exile - Dr. Carlson Anyangwe, Mr. Thomas Nwachang, Mr. Njoh Litumbe. Mr. Feh Ndangam Augustine etc. in the S.D.F, who call themselves "S.C.N.C. Leaders of the Government sponsored Banjul Case", who were clamouring for Constructive Dialogue, with the Government of La Republique du Cameroun, Human Rights and Decentralization. (please, read the European Union's reply to the Council — SOCALIM on the 19th of June 2007 as one of the achievements of SOCALIM attached for more information): who now turn round to say that they are those spearheading to restore the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons as the Council SOCALIM has stood very firmly for it. This confirms the statement of the former and present British High Commissioners in Yaounde, that they have not been recognized by the British Government. Reference the Council's document No. 0049/SOCALIM/2009. (Please read Her Majesty's reply to the Council attached).

Mr. John Fru Ndi and his cohorts in the S.D.F National Executive Committee (N E C), an illegal political party approved by a distinct country — the Annexationist Government of La Republique du Cameroun operating very illegally in the territory of the Southern Cameroons should know that His Excellency, Dr. John Ngu Foncha of blessed memory, Prime Minister and the Head of the Government of the Southern Cameroons in June, 1995 went to the United Nations and filed a Petition Against the very illegal Annexation of the Territory of the

on the 21/10/1988 to the Council to work with the U.N.O to restore the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons peacefully is doing the work perfectly as mandated by the Southern Cameroons People's Conference (S.C.P.C) 1993 in Buea and 1994 in Bamenda Southern Cameroons. Yet, the Government of La Republique du Cameroun which is a Military Rule in Civilian Disguise continues to manipulate, misrepresent, confuse and make the deliberate attempt through all various Local News Papers in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons; especially The Post News Paper, the Guardian Post and the Political Punch to confuse the population of the Southern Cameroons; to make the people believe that the Council: Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement (SOCALIM) does not exist at all and is doing nothing to restore the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons. Read some achievements of the Council: SOCALIM attached for more information. Therefore to make the population of the Southern Cameroons not to appreciate the practical presence of the U N in our Territory with which the Council is working perfectly with the International Community — The U.N.O which is directly concerned to restore the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons peacefully. The Council has posted several Documents on the Issue of the Restoration of the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons to the Editors of the News Papers especially

"The Post News Paper", which is the leading News Paper in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons. Yet, they continue to propagate falsehood about the issue of the Independence of the Southern Cameroons in West Africa. If they are sincere in their Journalistic Investigations, we challenge them to publish this present document from the Council: SOCALIM. Let them know that falsehood and lies-telling do not build the State — Country, rather they destroy it completely.

The Council calls upon the U N to intervene in this serious matter which can cause bloodshed in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons immediately.

REMINDER: NO FEDERATION with La Republique du Cameroun: The Council: Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement hereby reminds the international Community — The United Nations and the Southern Cameroonians that, the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun are two very distinct Entities — Nations, and there is No Legal Union Treaty between them except the very illegal annexation of the Southern Cameroons by La Republique du Cameroun. Therefore, such persons or personalities as Mr. John Fru Ndi, Mr. Philemon Yang, Barrister Ben Muna, Dr. Agbor Tabi Peter, Hon. Paul Abine Ayah, Ms. Kah Walla, Dr. Elvis Ngole Ngole or who so ever etc., from the Southern Cameroons who thinks and believes very ignorantly or deliberately that because of soft money from the Government of La Republique du Cameroun he could Federate the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun is non event ab tio (from the very beginning) because there is No Legal Instrument binding the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun.

The Council appeals earnestly to the U N to protect the lives of the Vulnerable Councilors and innocent

Southern Cameroonians from the hands of these hypocrites who pretend to work for the liberation of the Southern Cameroons. These are people who have sold their consciences to La Republique du Cameroun for the love of soft money and Administrative Positions in the Government of La Republique du Cameroun.

ON THE ELECTION OF LA REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN, CENTRAL AFRICA: The Council has stated categorically on several occasions that, the Government's organizing Organ known as "Elections Cameroon" (ELECAM) in particular and The Elections of La Republique du Cameroun in general have nothing to do with the Southern Cameroons State absolutely. The sufficient reason being that, La Republique du Cameroun is quite a difTerent State which has annexed the Southern Cameroons, hence everything being done by La Republique du Cameroun in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons is absolutely illegal. Reference the Council's Official Documents on the Issue Ref No. 0070/SOCALIM/2010, dated Bamenda 20. December, 2010; and Ref: No.0076/SOCALM/2011, dated Bamenda 171 March, 2011; for more information.

The Council hereby informs the U N, the International Community and the Southern Cameroonians that La Republique du Cameroun should desist with immediate effect

from publicizing falsehood in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons with regards to her political affairs such as Registration of Voters and Elections of La Republique du Cameroun in the Southern Cameroons. Let La Republique du Cameroun in Central Africa not take the poverty-tricken population of the Southern Cameroons rendered by her to boost her political image of registration of nine million people (voters) and above.

The Southern Cameroonians should have absolute confidence and faith in God, Our Loving and Protecting Father in Heaven that, He is using t. U N and the International Community to restore the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons very peacefully. Hence, we have nothing to bother ourselves with the Socio-political life of La Republique du Cameroun in Central Africa. The Council seizes this opportunity to tell President Paul Biya of La Republique du Cameroun and his hired cohort from the Territory of the Southern Cameroon, Mr. John Fru Ndi, the national Chairman of the Social Democratic Front Political Party (S.D.F) (- operating

very illegally in the Southern Cameroons), that they should stop immediately their Political conspiracy and connivance over the Territory of the Southern Cameroons and the Lives of the people. If they should go for their Elections and there happens to be any rioting, uprising and civil unrest, let it remain in the Territory of La Republique du Cameroun alone. The people of the Southern Cameroons have nothing to neither contribute to La Republique du Cameroun nor take from her very deplorable Socio-political Life. Hence, the Council also wishes to appeal to the members of the International Community — the Diplomats. that no Diplomat should visit or pay attention, sympathize with any illegal Political Party Leader of La Republique du Cameroun in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons in West Africa. If such a visit is made, the visiting Diplomat will be considered by the Council as Projecting and supporting the illegal annexation of the Southern Cameroons by La Republique du Cameroun, contrary to the U N's Principle of Self Determination.

Indeed, Mr. John Fru Ndi and President Paul Biya are playing an awful mafia of confusing the vulnerable and gullible Southern Cameroonians about the Presidential Elections this year, 2011, the Parliamentary and Council Elections, 2012. They want to cajole the Southern Cameroonians that the two distinct States; the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun are one country which is a pure deception and absolute fraud. In reality, the Issue of the Self-Determination-Auto-Determination — Sovereignty of the Southern Cameroons can never be solved by a Political Party.

On the question of celebrating our false Independence Day, 1. October, 1961 — First October, 2011, 50 years of Slavery in the Politico-Administration of La Republique du Cameroun:

The Council has stated time and again that, The Fourth Committee of the United Nations voted for the Southern Cameroons' Independence on the 19th of April, 1961 with the following results: "50 YES" "2 NO" and "12 ABSTENTIONS". First October, 1961 was declared by that very Decisive Committee of the U N to be the Independence Day of the Southern Cameroons with no strings or conditions attached such as

"Independence by-joining". Since then, the Southern Cameroons has never enjoyed the real Independence that was granted to her. The Council; SOCALIM is working resolutely and certainly with the U N to have the Calamitous error and wrongs that were committed against the vulnerable, simple, gullible, honest and uneducated people of the Southern Cameroons in 1961 corrected peacefully by the U N, through assisting the Council to pick up the Sovereignty of the people of the Southern Cameroons which is lying on the ground, in the Territory of the Southern Cameroons; for the Summum Bonum — the Highest Good of the Territory and the people of the Southern Cameroons in West Africa.

For this reason. the Council calls upon all the Southern Cameroonians at Home and in the Diaspora to remain calm, go about their normal daily activities of livelihood, trust in God and follow the peaceful means that the U N is employing to restore the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons.

To God be: Greater Honour and Glory as we do all things to praise and adore Him according to His Eternal Will, Love and Goodness for Mankind.

May God our loving and protecting Father in Heaven guide and direct the U N. to solve Socio-Political Issues in the World to protect lives and properties in time. Indeed, His Excellency President Barack Obama, of the United States of America (U.S.A) has said it all in his recent speech in July, 2011, to the Middle East and North Africa that each Nation has inalienable right to Nationhood or Statehood such as the Israelis and Palestinians. Hence, the International community should work in such a way as to protect human lives and National Existence of all peoples in the World.

Your Excellency, accept our usual highest consideration and respect.

Rev. Fr. Andrew Ambeazieh

Vice National Chairman —SOCALIM.

THROUGH THE SENIOR POLITICAL ANALYST,
MR LAZARE BIWOLE MEKE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA EMBASSY, YAOUNDE,
LA REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN
TO: HIS EXCELLENCY,
BARACK OBAMA,
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (U.S.A.)
WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON D.C. U.S.A.

RE: A MEMORANDUM OF AN EARNEST APPEAL FOR PRACTICAL
RESTORATION OF THE NATIONHOOD OF THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS IN
WEST AFRICA

The Council: Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement (SOCALIM), the Governing Body and the Custodian of the annexed Territory of the Southern Cameroons in West Africa, by the government of La Republique du Cameroun in Central Africa, has the honour more respectfully and humbly; with the singular responsibility charged by the Southern Cameroons People's Conference (S P C P) held in Buea, the Capital City of the Southern Cameroons as "All Anglophones Conference" (AAC1 1993 and AAC2 in Bamenda, 1994 respectively) and the 9 MAN SCNC's delegation in 1995 to file a petition at the UN.O against the Annexation of the Southern Cameroons by la Republique du Cameroun; to present this MEMORANDUM to your Excellency, concerning our heart-felt request: THE PRACTICAL RESTORATION OF THE NATIONHOOD of the Southern Cameroons by the United Nations through the concrete assistance and supervision of the government of the United States of America.

This will make the council and the people of the Southern Cameroons to resume the independence that was granted to the Southern Cameroons by the UN. GA's Fourth and Decisive Committee on the 19th of April, 1961 when they voted "50 YES", 2 NO, 12 ABSTENTIONS" for our independence without any condition attached to it. They declared First October, 1961 to be the Independence Day of the Southern Cameroons. Unfortunately from that time till date, the Southern Cameroons is not enjoying the Independence as granted by the UN.O. We have been annexed, subjugated and assimilated by La Republique du Cameroun, a former U.N. Trusteeship Territory just as the Southern Cameroons.

In December 25, 2006, the Council Officially Handed over The territory and the People of the Southern to the United Nations Organisation for: Protection, Supervision of the

Restoration of the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons and to assist the Council to set up a purely democratic Government for the Highest Good of the

Territory and the People. We hereby enclose a copy of "The Handing Over of the Southern Cameroons to the

United Nations Organisation 25th December, 2006" for your attention.

The United Nations has done and is doing a lot of work for the Restoration of the Nationhood of the Southern Cameroons through some Member States and Organisations. We are very grateful to her for it. What the Council and the People of the Southern Cameroons need at this particular point in time is the Practical Liberation from the annexationist Government of La Republique du Cameroun as soon as possible. The people of the Southern Cameroons were plunged into a horrible and inhuman Political illegal Cohabitation with La Republique du Cameroun with the Quasi Independence "BY JOINING" La Republique du Cameroun without an Act-Legal Treaty on the First of October, 1961. You are referred to read the following documents attached for further information on the Issue of the Independence of the Southern Cameroons:

1. Factual Background, The Union Agreements Concerning the Southern Cameroons.
2. Revealed!!! How Britain Sold Southern Cameroons into Slavery a Document for Keeps.
3. The Survey Repon by Dr. D.E. Gardinier of the Institute of Race Relation London on "Cameroon: United Nations Challenge to French Policy" 1963.
4. The Council's Document: Communique dated Buea December, 2007.

Indeed, First October, 2011 will clock the Southern Cameroons 50 Years in the terrible inhuman treatment in the Politico-Administrative imprisonment of La Republique du Cameroun; for no just reason of the innocent people of the Southern Cameroons. We need the United States of America's Government, the Political Giant of our modern time and the most influential International Personality to liberate the Southern Cameroons from dungeon in the Political Administration of La Republique du Cameroun on or before FIRST OCTOBER, 2011. TO GOD, BE GLORY AND HONOUR FOR EVER AND EVER AMEN.

Your Excellency, according to the Charter of the U N, Article 76 which states inter alia: the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations Laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- (a) "to further international peace and saurity.
- (b) To promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards SELF-GOVERNMENT or INDEPENDENCE as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its people and the freely expressed wishes of the

people concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement." Actually, the Southern Cameroons has been floating from 1961 till date. The Southern Cameroons being a Trusteeship Territory of the U N up till now is supposed to be independent and not depending on La Republique du Cameroun a former UN Trusteeship Territory just as the Southern Cameroons.

Again, the U N General Assembly's Declaration on 14 December, 1960 for Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Resolution 1514(XV)), the Southern Cameroons is supposed to be independent and no depending on a former U N Trusteeship Territory such as La Republique du Cameroun in Central Africa.

What does the Declaration state?

"The Declaration states that subjecting peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation." It adds that "immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their firmly expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom." Reference the "BASIC FACTS ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS", 2004 EDITION PP.286 — 288; for further information on this very vexing Issue: THE FULL INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS, WEST AFRICA.

In reality, the above U N G A'S Declaration by implication did nullify the U N Plebiscite of 13. October, 1959 that the British Trusteeship Territory of the Southern Cameroons should achieve Independence only "BYJOINING", which was absolutely unacceptable and contrary to the Charter of the UNO, her Declarations and Resolutions about the Trusteeship Territories.

Finally, Your Excellency, it is with the above facticity and explanation of the terrible Political illegal Cohabitation between the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun; that the Council: SOCALIM is hereby earnestly and humbly appealing to Your Excellency and Your Government which is the Saviour of Mankind from Socio-PoliticalSuppressions, Oppressions, Regression, Discrimination and Terrorism in the world, that You are the real Political Giant of our modern epoch to liberate the Territory and People of Southern Cameroons from annexation, subjugation and assimilation by the Government of La Republique du Cameroun. The Council which is the necessary human Investigative Personnel will provide honest, simple, God-fearing, Law-abiding and devoted Southern Cameroonians to work with the American Personnel to be dispatched to take off the Politico- Administration of the Southern Cameroons. The Council thanks Your Excellency immensely, Your Government and the People of your great Nation: The United States of America for your tremendous contribution to World Peace and Security, Human and Economic Development. This, indeed, is a very clear manifestation and demonstration of your Philosophy and Trust in God as inscribed on

your currency: The Dollar and above all, your love of God and service to Mankind. May God continue to use the U.S.A. as the Political Giant and Saviour of the Socio-Political Issues of the world, until Peace and Love should reign in the world. The people of the Southern Cameroons will also continue to support you in your democratic Mission to the World. Indeed, the people of the Southern Cameroons in West Africa are anxiously waiting for your real love and service through your timely intervention for them at the United Nations and let them be liberated from very illegal annexation of their Territory: The Southern Cameroons by La Republique du Cameroun.

AN APPLICATION FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS' INDEPENDENCE

GRANTED BY THE UNGA'S FOURTH COMMITTEE ON 19". AmL, 1961 WITHOUT ANY CONDITION

ATTACHED TO IT.

Your Excellency,

The Council: SOCALIM, hereby presents an Official Application to you and your Government to enable the Council and the people of the Southern Cameroons, to resume the Southern Cameroons' Independence which was granted by the U N G A'S Fourth and Decisive Committee on the 19th of April, 1961; when they voted: "50 YES, 2 No. a. 12 ABSTENTIONS" and declared First October, 1961 to be the Independence Day of the Southern Cameroons; without any condition attached to the Independence "such as by joining".

Could the Southern Cameroons decide against Unification after the Plebiscite of 11th February, 1961?

Yes, the Southern Cameroons with her inalienable Right to Self-Determination or Government could decide after the 1961 Plebiscite, or even after the proclamation of the Southern Cameroons' Independence on 1st October, 1961, by Dr. John Ngu Foncha, the Prime Minister and Head of the Government of the Southern Cameroons, NOT TO JOIN LA REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN WITHOUT ANY FEAR OF REPREHENSION OR REPRISAL OF ANY KIND FROM EITHER THE U.N. OR LA REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN. It would have been considered as the pursuit of the Self-Determination in conformity with Article 76 of the U N Charter. Even now it is not late to consider such an option. THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT THE COUNCIL IS DOING NOW.

In fact, President Paul Biya of La Republique du Cameroun by his Presidential Decree of 4. February, 1984 did secede from the U N imposed "Defunct Federation" between the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun on 1st October, 1961. The unilateral Presidential Decree of President Paul of La Republique du Cameroun resuscitated the Nationhood of Southern Cameroons symmetrically. We thank God that the fraudulent and fake Union — the so-called Federation was attempted without any

CT OF UNION such as a Legal or Union Treaty between the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun.

It is on this Legal, Historical and Geographical Foundation that the Council hereby presents the INSIGNAE OF

THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS NATION:

1. MOTTO: UT SERVIRE DEUS OMNIPOTENS, PATRIA NOSTRUM (NOSTER) ET UNUM ALIQUID

ALIA: TO SERVE GOD, OR SERVICE TO GOD, OUR COUNTRY, AND ONE ANOTHER.

2. CODE OF ARMS: SUPREME IS GOD'S SALVATION.

3. FLAG: BLUE, GREEN, WHITE AND BLACK.

4. CURRENCY: THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS' DOLLAR.

We are appealing earnestly and humbly to Your Excellency and Your Government to protect the Council and the people of the Southern Cameroons in collaboration with the UN.0 to enable us to resume our Independence on or before First October, 2011. HENCE, NATIONAL SECURITY AND PROTECTION ARE AN ABSOLUTE NEED FOR THE COUNCIL AND THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS. This very necessary Action which is for the Highest Good (SUMMUM BONUM) of the Territory, and the people of the Southern Cameroons will terminate the illegal annexation of the Southern Cameroons by La Republique du Cameroun in Central Africa. We are very grateful to Your Excellency, Your Government and the people of the U.S.A for Your marvellous Love and Service to the Territory and the people of the Southern Cameroons.

Your Excellency, May God. Our Loving Father in Heaven, bless you, your family, your Government and the people of the United States of America.

Accept our usual highest consideration and respect.

REV. F. ANDREW AMBEAMEH

VICE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN — SOCALIM.

OPEN LETTER TO MR. MARAFA HAMIDOU YAYA,KONDENGUI POLITICAL PRISON,

Sir,

In the name of the Southern Cameroonian people, I send to you our warm and fraternal greetings.

As one who has several times been in and out of Prison detention, incommunicado detention in gendarmerie cells, among others, I know how painful it is to be subjected to such dehumanising concentration which inflicts physical, moral, intellectual torture, worse still on one who lived in legendary abundance.

As for me, arbitrary arrests and torture sometimes with a gun

threateningly pinned on my forehead or ear, such bestial and barbaric treatment by la Republique du Cameroun occupation forces are a consequence of imposed foreign rule and laws in our land. I know we are so inhumanly treated because we do not belong. But natural justice has demonstrated that a mad dog sometimes bites its own master.

But as for you, a son of the soil and above all a member of the ruling class, you could never have ever imagined one day being behind bars though not so humiliated as we (British Southern Cameroonians)subjugated “2nd class nonentities” are always made to suffer. And what is our crime? Rising up to defend our identity and speaking the truth-legal and political. Three things have pleased and made me write to you in my name and on behalf of my people – British Southern Cameroonians.

Firstly the privileged information your detention has afforded even the nonentities of the la Republique du Cameroun establishment to know, thanks to your 17 long years in high positions in government of your country which you served “with distinctions” as forcefully declared by an imminent son of our occupied land, an eminent law Prof. Ndiva Kofele Kale.

Superficially, it is like saying thanks to your arrest and

incarceration. Not at all! But as it is said, beyond the dark clouds there is a silver lining. Under your circumstance in my small book "THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS: THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER", from the bottom of my heart I thanked the very forces and officials that subjected me in prison detention for that forced me go into a retreat and disciplined reflection on the state of things affecting my homeland and people. It could be said that without my arrest and detention there could have

been no "THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS: THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER" written which has been read and quoted by many scholars in their own books.

Secondly your wise decision to count and rely on Ni John Fru Ndi and Common Law Lawyers to defend you for justice sake against the autocratic civil law system handed to you people at independence is a big eye opener to many. Without doubt it affirms the incontrovertible fact of two distinct Cameroons in conformity with boundary treaties inherited at independence which according to the principle of international jurisprudence of *uti possidetis juris* and the critical

date and the AU Constitutive Act, Art. 4(b) remains immutable and inviolable. That is the international law which is superior to national or municipal law. This fact of law mocks the political slogan of your Yaounde establishment of "ONE AND INDIVISIBLE Cameroun" which erroneously includes British Southern Cameroons whose inherited legal system you now depend on to protect and save you from what you and your government want to impose on us BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS.

I salute you and the bed on which you slept to take this wise decision of reaching out to us and our inherited legal system. Above all I salute the magnanimity of Fru Ndi and Kofele Kale who individually suffered the pain of the raw deal the Yaounde system carved out for every Southern Cameroonian who pretends to have equal rights and to compete for political space against the sons of the soil (the masters born to will unlimited powers over the annexed, assimilated and subjugated British Southern Cameroonians.

Thirdly, my take after a careful reading of your four letters leaves me with the impression that you could be someone with an independent mind and that there were times when you held contrary opinion on matters of national interest and fundamental human values from that cherished by your boss and that you never hid such from him and other immediate collaborators. From your letters it is clear that this character has not just been born in Kondengui. May it flower the more.

Highly appreciative of your sound knowledge, thanks to your having occupied high and strategic positions in government, your declared commitment to matters of principles, the lucidity with which you put incontrovertible facts and even state secrets meant for the chosen few to ensure maintenance of the status quo, with this window of

opportunity, we believe you can do more to satisfy many a curious mind and even your people who have never known freedom, participatory democracy, nor do they know and practice the golden rule, “DO UNTO

OTHERS AS YOU WOULD WISH DONE TO YOU”.

Sir, your write-ups, as profound and educative as they are will be incomplete if you fail to educate us on the following:

a) ”Coffre Noire” – how much oil money goes into this “famous black” account every month? What has been government policy on the management of oil revenue and those who head SONARA? How is it that even common royalty is paid to Douala City Council and not to Victoria City Council, Southern Cameroons, where SONARA is located and the source of this black gold?

b) The established policy on the Southern Cameroons: Why did your Government treat the Southern Cameroons Vs la Republique du Cameroun Case before the African Commission as a guarded secret to the extent that even your powerless parliament has never been informed of let alone debated the matter? You and one of our respectable Natural Rulers, Chief Ephraim Inone, who like you served in your government, among others, are today accused of “corruption” by your government that is trying to panel beat its battered international image. Is it

not this same government that yesterday corrupted and bribed some spineless Southern Cameroonians in the persons of Oben/Leke posing as SCNC Leaders to have them withdraw the case before the African Commission in Banjul?

c) Since 2009 when the ruling on Communication 266/2003, your

Government with impunity has ignored the Constructive Dialogue under the good offices of the ACHPR and instead is intensifying its colonial occupation. Does this not confirm la Republique du Cameroun’s annexation and colonial occupation of one distinct Cameroon by another? As SG at Presidency of the Republique, a de facto Vice President, and MINATD boss with direct control over Regions, Divisions, sub-divisions and Traditional Rulers, knowing fully well that your country la Republique du Cameroun is the successor state of the former UN Trust territory of French Cameroun, what has been your

stand and attitude towards the legitimate and legal struggle of the Southern Cameroons for freedom, justice, and right to self-determination of the Southern Cameroonian people to restore their sovereign statehood?

d) This very eminent Law Prof. Kofele Kale, who has so much respect for your person and will have to sweat before your very court which knows no fair trial, is the very person who defended the Bakweri Lands Claim Commission (BLCC) against the Yaoundé establishment before the ACHPR and won but your government with impunity

ignored the ruling. What was/is Government policy towards the BLCC? How do you expect the

Bakweri people to feel towards their son who now has to defend you, a man who showed no sympathy for them when they stood sobbing for their ancestral land?

We ask these simple questions which are dear to our heart for we fervently believe that he who goes to equity must go with clean hands and a clear conscience. Please speak truthfully to us as some of the best legal minds of our land prepare to defend you so that as they cross the Mungo the gods of FAKO, KUPE and KILUM may not frown and turn their backs on them, let alone curse them and their descendants. We pray not for the worse!

So Mr. Marafa Hamidou Yaya, as a man of integrity, speak, speak to us truthfully for both the gods of our land, the ancestors and those sent to premature death by the murderous bullets of your occupation forces want to hear you speak to us from your heart.

May God of compassion bless and grant you wisdom to value and uphold nothing but the absolute TRUTH in your response.

NFOR, NGALA NFOR

Bamenda, British Southern Cameroons.

SCAPO's Open Letter to President Paul Biya of Cameroun on so-called Re-unification as published by Eye Witness Newspaper

His Excellency,

President Paul Biya,

Unity Palace,

Yaounde

Republic of Cameroon

Your Excellency Mr. President,

Subject: YOUR PLAN TO CELEBRATE 1ST OCTOBER AS RE-UNIFICATION DAY (2012)

The Southern Cameroons People's Organization (SCAPO) is a political Party in Southern Cameroons working to end the annexation and foreign occupation of Southern Cameroons since 1961.

Your plan to celebrate 1st October 2012 as Re-Unification Day and to do so in Buea capital of Southern Cameroons takes many people in Southern Cameroon by surprise. Many do not know the reason behind the elaborate plans about this celebration which has not happened in the last fifty years. Your answers to the following questions will clear the air about this new plan for celebration in Buea:

- Why do you want to celebrate an event that did not take place?
- Why a celebration when your country voted at the United Nations in 1961 that they did not want Union with Southern Cameroons?
- Why this celebration after your government (for 50 years) carried out yearly harassment and arrests of Southern Cameroonians on every 1st October for celebrating their independence day?
- Why do you call the event Re-Unification?
- Why a celebration after evading the dialogue proposal made by the African Commission to be held between your country and the State of Southern Cameroons?

Permit us to draw your attention to the following:

1) That you are planning to celebrate an event that did not take place. In 1961 the people of Southern Cameroon voted in a UN plebiscite to join with their brothers in the Republic of Cameroon. After that plebiscite, instead of engaging in negotiation in good faith for that union to succeed in accordance with UN principles and Resolutions, YOUR Country chose the path of annexation and today Southern Cameroon is two

provinces of your Country that was supposed to be a partner in a Federation of two States both equal in status.

2) Mr. President, you will recall that on April 21, 1961 when the UN proposed that Southern Cameroon joins your country (UN Resolution 1608X V paragraph 4b) your country joined the rest of French Speaking Africa to vote “NO” to that UN proposal and Resolution. Your country has since never apologised to the people of Southern Cameroon for that position on Union with Southern Cameroons. Your Country’s U-turn after this stand AGAINST Union with Southern Cameroons can only be explained in the light of the subsequent annexation of Southern Cameroon by your country in utter disregard of mutually agreed terms for the union and in defiance of international law.

3) That for 51 years now your government has harassed arrested and detained Southern Cameroonians each year on 1st October for celebrating a day which was named by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations as Independence Day for Southern Cameroon. Your present U-turn is therefore surprising (as surprising as the dramatic U-turn and ambivalence of the Republic of Cameroon about union with Southern Cameroon in 1961 at the UN).

4) It will be recalled that your predecessor Amadou Ahidjo told the 13th session of the U.N.O on 25th of February 1959, “I should not like the firmness and clarity of our stand to be interpreted as a desire for integration on my part which would sound the death knell to the hopes of our brothers in the zone under British Administration”.

“We do not wish to bring the weight of our population to bear on our British brothers. We are not annexationists”.

“In other words, if our brothers of the British zone wish to unite with an independent Cameroun, we are ready to discuss the matter with them, but we will discuss it on a footing of equality”.

So what happened afterwards that your country went back on these declarations and used “the weight” of your population in 1972 to reverse the vote of the people of Southern Cameroons people for a Federal Union? What happened afterwards that your country became “annexationists”?

5) Mr President, you and your predecessor have insisted that in the plebiscite in 1961 Southern Cameroons voted to join what you claim to be the mother-country which historically was German Kamerun. You therefore call the event RE-UNIFICATION. Unless this wrong information is calculated to achieve some hidden agenda, we are sure that your lawyers and historians would tell you that the United Nations plebiscite did not set out to reconstitute German Kamerun in 1961 and that Germany renounced all her overseas colonies at the end of world war I (Treaty of Versailles) . They would tell you that when the former UN Trust Territory of French Cameroun achieved independence on January 1st 1960 there was no statute at the UN or anywhere in the

world appointing your new country as successor to German Kamerun. They would tell you that your country can rightly claim to be successor to the former UN Trust Territory of French Cameroun and not German Kamerun. Your theory of a mother-country and of Re-Unification are both wrong and unacceptable because they are a threat to the stability of the entire sub-region because there are portions of German Kamerun in what is today Chad, Gabon, Congo, Central African Republic, and Nigeria. It is therefore unacceptable that your country's pro-consuls are erecting structures within Southern Cameroons called "RE-UNIFICATION MONUMENTS" while you are planning a big Re-Unification celebration on 1st October.

6) Mr. President, in this letter we have referred to the people of the Republic of Cameroon as our brothers. We use these words responsibly and we mean what we say. The peoples of the Southern Cameroons and those of the Republic of Cameroon shared the same political and economic space for 50 years and the relationship between individual families have become intertwined.

Unfortunately, the people of Southern Cameroons have lived through situations which convince them that, even two twins from the same womb have to live separate lives. The people of Southern Cameroons are convinced that the union with la République du Cameroun failed a long time ago, indeed, it failed before it started. We do not see our future as part of the political system which has governed your country during the last 50 years.

The people of Southern Cameroons did not vote in the Plebiscite to sell out themselves, their territory and their political status to become two Provinces of the Republic of Cameroon. That is the reason why they conducted a signature referendum in 1995. The response to that referendum was that they overwhelmingly want a peaceful separation. The plan of SCAPO as a Southern Cameroon Political Party is to ensure that there is a peaceful separation between the two Countries. This is the key reason why the people of Southern Cameroons have just filed a case at the United Nations Security Council. This case gives the Republic of Cameroon the opportunity of showing the legal basis of their presence in Southern Cameroons, and of justifying their annexation of a State that was supposed to be a partner with them in a Federation of two States (both equal in Status). But which, they chose to incorporate that state as two of their Provinces.

We can learn from events elsewhere: When the people of Czechoslovakia realized that their union was not working, they voluntarily decided to separate their two peoples into two separate republics rather than to trigger another war in the middle of Europe. After 75 years, the leaders of the country agreed to peacefully dissolve their union into a Czech and Slovak Republics on January 1, 1993. The two countries are now doing very well as separate states. The proposal for dialogue between Southern Cameroon and the Republic of Cameroon has been made by the African Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights, Banjul and before then by Mr. Kofi Annan the then Secretary General of the United Nations. Mr. President, we are surprised that you should brush aside these proposals for dialogue with Southern Cameroon and are planning a celebration.

Your Excellency, in working to restore our statehood our purpose is to revive our own form of democracy in which change was possible. Before coming under annexation and the suppression of our Statehood the government of the Southern Cameroons conducted free-and-fair general elections in Southern Cameroons. Dr E.M.L. Endeley the then Prime Minister of the Southern Cameroons conceded defeat when Mr J.N.Foncha (Leader of the Opposition) was elected by the people. There was a peaceful change of government which is rare today in Africa where incumbents hang on and on to power claiming popularity but refusing to create credible Independent Electoral Commissions and where frequent electoral and post-electoral strife manifest across the continent. For fifty years under annexation we have become more than convinced that we need to restore our statehood and revive our cherished democratic values.

Finally Mr. President, we think that with our Statehood restored we will develop our country better. We recall that twice under annexation the government of the Republic of Cameroon has opened the Kumba – Mamfe road (once from the Mamfe end by your predecessor and at another time by a high ranking Minister of Government from the Kumba end of the road) and that these events remain the exceptional cases in Cameroon when un-tarred roads were ceremonially opened and tapes cut. You yourself know how many times you have visited Bamenda and told the people that you will construct the Ring-Road and other times that you will personally supervise the construction of that road. Still, the construction of the Ring Road has never taken off and the last we heard concerning the Ring-Road was from a Minister of your government saying that the Ring-Road was not a priority for your government. So who is fooling who in all these or in the plan for a big celebration in Buea on 1st October 2012.

FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION

DR. KELVIN NGWANG GUMNE
MR.AUGUSTINE NDANGAM

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE POLITICAL LEADERS AND ELITES OF BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS BY NFOR NGALA NFOR, 15 sept 2015

TIME FOR THE RIGHT DECISION IN THE SUPREME INTEREST OF OUR PEOPLE

In your distinguished and selfless efforts to transform this triangle called Cameroun from a bankrupt immoral institutionalised system and one man dictatorship into a democracy abounding in human freedom, press freedom and rule of law, some of you have suffered enormously. The reason is simple. The struggle for democracy, human freedom and rule of law led by Southern Cameroonians in the 1990s was a clash of two fundamental protagonists like light and darkness. Blind to the reality on the ground, we thought we belong as equals, whereas the contrary was/is the case. This explains why those who had the yam and the knife, those with absolute power in their hands did not only impose a military siege with orders to kill the intruders trying to upset the status quo, the intruder was given a brand name, “Les enemies dans la maison” and told to go to where they belong if not satisfied with the dehumanised status they are accorded and crumbs they are allowed to pick from the ground. The message here is crystal clear – the top and decision making is reserved exclusively for the sons of the soil, it is no go zone for the intruder who does not belong. Thus the name Anglophone became “Anglo fool” with “Le Biafraise, le Nigériane, le secessionniste” etc as synonyms. Thus the powerful Vice Prime Minister’s body guard will openly in his office thrash Southern Cameroons MPs for disturbing as if they were naughty primary school kids and in the House of Assembly Hon. Paulinus Jua is told to sit down by a Francophone MP for addressing the House in English.

The warnings given on May 26, 1990 were either not taken serious or they were ignored and the more we pressed on the hard and uncompromising message came in various ways and even from their masters in France whose interest Yaoundé is duty bound to protect and promote.

Thus as if to remind us of Dr Endeley’s prophetic predictions which have all come to pass and declaration that French Cameroun was not independent but a colony of France, consequently British Southern Cameroons shall know no freedom and enjoy no independence if the plebiscite vote favoured joining them, in 1992 the master angry with the intruder, Nchinda, for wishing to sit on the throne, declared ‘an English man can never rule a French Province.’ This coming from the final authority, it opened the flood gates for more humiliating statements and abuses with impunity even on our elected members of la Republique Assembly and our political party leaders committed to cleaning the stable for a fairer society.

Not discouraged the number of Southern Cameroonians determined to measure the depth of the muddy waters of rejection continued to swell. And in the 2011 Presidential election, four of the 23 candidates were British Southern Cameroonians. Election results in favour of the incumbent which are always known before the polls came as we had predicted. But what took some by storm was the drama generated by the Prefet of

Mfoundi who told the four Anglophone (Southern Cameroonian) candidates – Fru Ndi, Paul Ayah, Kah Wallah and Ben Muna – who over-stayed their welcome in Yaoundé that Yaoundé was not an Anglophone capital so they should quit. The declarations made by Fru Ndi and Paul Ayah are well known to patriotic Southern Cameroonians some who saw their participation in the elections not only as waste of time and energy but more as treachery. They have been watching and listening.

This apart, Fru Ndi's exploits at the Supreme Court with his old friend Alexis Depanda Mouelle presiding and what took place in Bamenda on his arrival is interesting subject for historians. These notwithstanding the one billion dollar question on the lips of many a Southern Cameroonian is, WHEN IS ENOUGH, ENOUGH?

I believe the greatest tragedy of political leadership is when the individual fails or refuses to read the hand writing on the wall. Or when instead of leading the people he stands against their legitimate aspirations. And you can never lead a people without a clear understanding and in defence of their legitimate aspiration and legal rights. I believe it is problems confronting a people that inspire a man of vision to step out to lead the people attain their desired end. This demands that the leader and the people must work in synergy for a common good. Such a problem demanding a solution can never be outside the history and culture of the people concerned nor can the leader standing outside their history and culture lead the people to their political kingdom so that they live in freedom and happiness.

Since the collapse of the USSR and Yugoslavia, thanks to the politics of identity the dominant inevitable question on the lips of peoples under foreign domination and alien rule has been, "Who are we?" and "Who is not us?" Between 1990 and 1993 alone some twenty three nations restored their sovereign existence and joined UN Membership. The politics of irredentism is only rising for self-determination, having proved itself an engine of progress, has become an unstoppable phenomenon in human history.

The incontrovertible fact of history before us is that this triangle nation is made up of two distinct nations and peoples forced together by intrigues and held by the barrel of the gun, falsehood and decrees. While citizens of la Republique du Cameroun are rightly clamouring for constitutional solution for democratic governance, British Southern Cameroons citizens, based on the facts of history and law are in urgent need of a political solution to end prolonged colonial rule and domination which since 1961 has robbed more salt into an old painful wound than experienced under British rule. And since history, culture, legality sets the two apart as confirmed by their exclusive legitimate aspirations, a leader standing for a common solution will either be leading himself or in his abysmal effort betray one nation and people to the other. The latter position is what the British Southern Cameroonian people have come to suffer since the birth of the struggle for multi-party democracy championed by some British Southern Cameroonians.

Today British Southern Cameroons faces the very political challenges faced in 1959-1961, namely, that of CHOICE between FREEDOM and IDEPENDENCE or perpetual servitude under la Republique du Cameroun.

SOME EVIDENCE AND PAINFUL FACTS OF TARGETED INJUSTICE

1. Out of the close to 300 political parties the SDF is the only that was born in human blood under a military siege.
2. Since the birth of the party Yaoundé has demonstrated in all ways possible that we belong apart – master and servant, the rulers and ruled and that the ruled have no voice.
3. British Southern Cameroons for its ambition to challenge the status quo and change the order of things within a system its citizens have no powers and equal rights has suffered two gruesome states of emergency and an economic blockade that made the people live in hell on earth. No government imposes an economic blockade against its own citizens.
4. After escaping an assassination attempt in Yaoundé in 1993, Fru Ndi and entourage (including self) took refuge at the Dutch Embassy. On the 5th day the French Ambassador visited us, certainly after serious diplomatic lobbying, and granted Fru Ndi “self-exit” from Yaoundé, la Republique du Cameroun to Bamenda, British Southern Cameroons his country. True to point “self-exit” or “self-passage” is never applied to bona fide citizens. It is granted only to foreigners under escorts to get them out. And coming from French Ambassador, the message becomes very explicit?
5. Royalty for petrol and timber from British Southern Cameroons is paid to Douala City Council and Sangmalima council respectively of la Republique du Cameroun. When the Mamfe Chiefs and their nobles protested the exploitation of timber, destruction of the environment without any benefits to the people, they were molested, abused and detained.
6. Though the refinery – SONARA (French acronym) is built in Victoria, management and staffing is dominated by Francophone. Since creation no Southern Cameroonian has ever been a General Manager and the lingua franca there is French.
7. British Southern Cameroons has been balkanized into two provinces and to move from one to the other you must traverse two provinces of la Republique du Cameroun. This is to facilitate assimilation. In its interest Yaoundé plays one against the other and promotes hostility between the two provinces through its paid agents.
8. Ombe Technical College, pride of British Southern Cameroons opened same time with Yaba and Kaduna Polytechnics in Nigeria is now a shadow of its former self. Instead of improving the machines and equipment were carried away by the first Francophone principal.

9. Mutengene, Police College opened by British Southern Cameroons Government in 1958 has been francophonised and is heavily dominated by Francophone staff and students.

10. After 1972 anti-constitutional referendum, seaports, airports, PowerCam, Santa Coffee Estate and other financial and economic institutions established by British Southern Cameroons Government were all closed while CamBank and Produce Marketing Board with a huge stabilization fund were transferred to Yaoundé and Douala respectively. This political action was taken to make British Southern Cameroons economically subservient and entirely dependent on la Republique du Cameroun. There is no similar action that was ever taken in favour of Southern Cameroons.

11. We had to fight to get Buea University. In 2005 though there was a general strike in all state universities, it was only in Buea that gruesome impunities by forces of occupation were inflicted on the unarmed students. The evidence is that we do not belong and our children have no bright future under la Republique du Cameroun because their nation has been made a footstool.

12. In 2006 competitive exam result into the Faculty of Medicine, University of Buea was cancelled and under the pretext of regional balance and la Republique du Cameroun candidates who failed or never wrote were imposed on the list. But regional balance has never been applied in favour of British Southern Cameroons candidates.

13. HTTC Kumba and professional schools of the Bamenda University are flooded with Francophone teachers and students some who cannot communicate in good English. A Francophone on teaching practice entered the class in Bamenda and commanded the student, "Sweep the board!" The student responded, "I don't have a broom, Sir." Competitive exams for recruitment are either set in French or are deliberately poorly translated to deny British Southern Cameroons a fair chance.

14. More than 95% of administrative, military, security, lands and surveys, finance institution posts in Southern Cameroons are manned by Francophone thus making French the official language in offices. This facilitates oppression, exploitation and assimilation of the people. National unity and integration is euphemism for consolidation of annexation.

15. As a deliberate step to abolishing the Common Law jurisdiction and imposing the Napoleonic code, the courts in British Southern Cameroons are flooded with Francophone magistrates steeped in the Civil Law system who insist that submissions be made in French. Bilingualism is euphemism for frenchification.

The SCNC is committed to peaceful separation and restoration of the statehood of British Southern Cameroons within its inherited colonial boundaries. There is no legal instrument that binds the two distinct Cameroons which like the two Congos and three Guineas in Africa; each is entitled to national self –existence and sovereign

independence. To achieve peaceful separation the solution lies entirely in a common united front. As proven elsewhere it is now established that even modern weapons are no match to the will of a determined people fighting for their freedom against foreign domination and alien rule. Failure to unite now and act positively, we will inevitably be beckoning for genocide and mass graves tomorrow. It is the urgency of finding a permanent solution to the existing unbearable problem that led His Eminence Cardinal Tumi to declare in an interview with Cameroon Journal, Douala, June 29, 2015, "Yes of course I believe in it." (the Anglophone problem). "I am sure that if the English speaking part of Cameroon were independent, that area would have been far more developed than what we have today." And he concluded by saying that if a referendum were conducted today Southern Cameroonians will vote to leave Cameroun.

As political leaders of our beloved nation, it is true that we are a peace-loving and law abiding people. We have never known terrorism in our land. Peace-loving and law abiding people are intolerant of injustice and violence. Law abiding people know and defend their rights and dignity. It is in this light that I call on all Southern Cameroonians to stand against the Islamist Boko Haram terrorists who are mercilessly slaughtering innocent people in the north of la Republique du Cameroun and in Nigeria. We should unite and pray that this evil should stay beyond our borders and that the perpetrators should either surrender or be crushed where they are. We are concerned for you are never safe if your neighbour's house is on fire.

WHY THIS SOLEMN APPEAL

International law has declared annexation illegal and a threat to world peace and crime against humanity. The UN Charter and AU Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights recognise the inherent right of people under foreign domination and alien rule to fight for their freedom and independence.

The AU Charter makes it mandatory for sister African nations to support victims of foreign domination in their legitimate fight for self-determination and independence. It is on the strength of these international instruments that we won the case against Nigeria in 2002 and the land mark ruling by the African Commission on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) Banjul in Communication 266/2003 in 2009. The AU Summit in its Assembly of Libya approved this ruling and called for Constructive Dialogue under the Good Offices of the Commission. But Yaoundé, as an imperial power guilty under international law, has flouted the ruling with impunity. No one will mourn the death of your beloved mother better than you the bereaved.

It is equally important I remind you that though we have been arrested, tortured, detained, some murdered in cold blood for standing up for a just cause, and many several times have been charged to court, Yaoundé has never won a case against British Southern Cameroonians. Our case is very clean, just, legitimate and firmly anchored on international law. What is required of us is a united front and in solidarity to restore our statehood. Yaoundé had no right, moral, legal, cultural or historical to, by decree; abolish the British Southern Cameroons Government in Buea in 1972. Neither the

government of la Republique du Cameroun nor its citizens had a hand in the formation of that government. It was an imperial illegal act. And no one, but Southern Cameroonians, has the right and duty to restore it. By its restoration, constitutional democracy, freedom, rule of law and equality before the law, multi- party democracy and healthy competition in which the will of the people through the ballot box will be respected. The Chief Justice hands shall never be tied by whomever. British Southern Cameroons was a shining example of Westminster parliamentary democracy in colonial Africa experiencing peaceful change of government in 1959. This will be improved upon.

To end our slavery under la Republique du Cameroun peacefully, the solution lies in unity and speaking with one voice. As a leader you cannot afford to be silent. We must not allow the enemy to, at will, continue to exploit our patience and play one against the other. British Southern Cameroons is one and indivisible.

We must unit for the change we most need, change that will lift us out of the abyss of annexation, prolonged colonial domination and foreign rule and mindless exploitation that keeps us in mass poverty in the midst of plenty.

Our nonviolent struggle is not to create a new nation; it is to restore a nation that exists in law. It is in this light that I urge you to revive your patriotic spirit and that the commemoration of the 54th anniversary of our confiscated independence, 1st October 2015 should be with new dynamism and resolve of all leaders and active forces to unite for the new dawn and permanent solution to our servitude.

As the people's Messenger I am compelled to bring this to your high and kind attention. Let it not be said you did not know. Any generation that fails to confront and solve the problems that deny it its rightful place in history betrays itself and pushes its descendants into servitude.

You can't afford to stand against the tide of progressive history.

ARTUR MAS I GAVARRÓ

PRESIDENT DE LA GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA

**Discurs
d'investidura**

**PARAULES
DEL PRESIDENT**

2011

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Generalitat de Catalunya

ARTUR MAS I GAVARRÓ

PRESIDENT DE LA GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA

**Discurs d'investidura del diputat
H. Sr. Artur Mas i Gavarró,
candidat proposat a la Presidència
de la Generalitat de Catalunya**

PARLAMENT DE CATALUNYA

20 DE DESEMBRE DE 2010



Generalitat de Catalunya

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PARLAMENT DE CATALUNYA 20 DE DESEMBRE DE 2010

Moltes gràcies, Molt Honorable Senyora Presidenta del Parlament.

Molt Honorable President de la Generalitat de Catalunya, senyores i senyors diputats.

En compliment de l'encàrrec rebut per la presidenta del Parlament, em presento davant d'aquesta cambra per formalitzar la meva candidatura per ser investit cent vint-i-novè president de la Generalitat de Catalunya, presentar el programa de govern que l'acompanya, i demanar-los, si escau, la seva confiança.

Si em permeten una breu referència personal, els diré que durant el llarg camí de gairebé deu anys que m'ha dut fins aquí, fins a aquesta sessió d'investidura, en molts moments m'he preguntat quins sentiments impregnarien el meu esperit.

I avui puc dir que l'únic sentiment que m'acompanya és el de l'agraïment. No hi ha, ni en el meu cor ni en el meu cap, cap racó, per petit que sigui, reservat al ressentiment o a l'esperit de revenja.

Sento un profund agraïment per totes les persones que durant tots aquests anys m'han ajudat a mantenir el rumb de la nostra navegació, i sobretot agraïment al poble de Catalunya, que d'una manera clara ha dipositat recentment una gran dosi de confiança en el nostre projecte.

Compareixo davant de vostès, representants elegits pel poble de Catalunya per als propers quatre anys, amb la mateixa triple actitud que vaig expressar després de conèixer el resultat electoral. Amb la humilitat de saber-me no pas salvador, sinó simple servidor d'un país i d'una pàtria; amb un gran sentit de la responsabilitat pel pòsit de confiança que ens ha atorgat el poble català i pels reptes de gran calat que hem de saber superar entre tots; i amb una viva esperança, plena d'il·lusió i de convicció, en un futur millor pels gairebé 7,5 milions de catalans i catalanes als quals aspiro a fer un bon servei.

Sé que no puc demanar a la resta de grups que assumeixin en la seva totalitat el programa que ara els presentaré. Sí que puc, però, apel·lar al seu sentit de la responsabilitat per llegir conjuntament el missatge del poble de Catalunya en les urnes i facilitar, en conseqüència, la governació del país. Sóc molt conscient que, tot i disposar d'una gran majoria, aquesta no és suficient per si sola, ni per garantir la investidura ni la posterior governabilitat. Cal, per tant, un exercici constant de diàleg, de recerca de consensos i d'acords. He de dir que em sento còmode amb aquest escenari, com crec que ho he demostrat amb els nombrosos pactes que hem assolit en els nostres anys d'oposició.

Faig front a aquest debat d'investidura conscient de les enormes incerteses i dificultats que viu el nostre país. La crisi econòmica, clarament no superada; les seves conseqüències socials, manifestades sobretot en l'atur, la precarietat, la pobresa i el risc d'exclusió d'una part significativa de la nostra població; la crisi de les finances públiques, que amenaça el manteniment i l'enfortiment del nostre estat del benestar i dels programes de modernització i competitivitat del nostre país; la crisi de confiança dels ciutadans en les institucions i en la política; la crisi de relació entre Catalunya i l'Estat, evidenciada de manera prou clara amb la Sentència del Tribunal Constitucional contra l'Estatut, que obliga a redefinir sobre bases

noves l'esmentada relació Catalunya-Espanya; i finalment, la crisi d'actituds i de valors, que va més enllà de la política, que afecta la societat i que ens aboca a una creixent desvinculació entre el legítim interès individual i el necessari bé comú. A tot això ens enfrontem, que no és poca cosa.

Tanmateix, com més grans siguin les dificultats, més estímuls hem de trobar per vèncer-les. En aquest sentit, estic fermament convençut que Catalunya tornarà a vèncer en aquests moments difícils de la seva història. Sento, per tant, la necessitat i el deure de subratllar que tenim un país amb grans actius, en el qual podem confiar plenament. Tenim un país que conserva un alt grau de dinamisme i de capacitat d'iniciativa, de ganes de fer coses. Una cohesió interna que altres països més rics del nostre entorn voldrien per a ells mateixos. Un país creatiu i amb talent. Una base econòmica molt diversificada i en bona part oberta cap a l'exterior. Un teixit associatiu viu i ben present a tota la geografia catalana. Una cultura i una llengua que segueixen definint la nostra identitat mil·lenària. Centres de formació, en les diferents etapes de l'ensenyament, d'alta qualitat i ben reconeguts. Una base científica cada vegada més sòlida. Una posició geogràfica que ens permet exercir la capitalitat mediterrània. I una personalitat nacional no només capaç de sobreviure, sinó de projectar-se amb força cap al futur, ben empeltada d'aportacions i corrents molt diversos.

Crec en aquest país i en la seva gent. Crec en la capacitat de superació i de fer front a les dificultats. Crec en la força del treball i de la feina ben feta i en l'empenta per emprendre nous reptes i noves responsabilitats. Crec en el talent i en la capacitat creativa que tenim en molts àmbits i que ens fa ser reconeguts arreu. Crec que, si aprofitem la força dels nostres actius i la sumem a l'esforç decidit per afrontar i superar els reptes, no solament superarem les dificultats, sinó que en sortirem més forts i més ben preparats.

El missatge de canvi que el poble de Catalunya ens ha donat el passat 28 de novembre penso que va més enllà de la política o del Govern. El canvi que aquest país reclama també és un canvi d'actituds, de maneres de fer i de valors. Permetin-me, per tant, que abans d'endinsar-me en el programa de govern, els parli de les actituds i els valors amb els quals el Govern que aspiro a presidir ha d'enfocar aquest nou cicle que encetem.

Primer. El Govern que aspiro a presidir serà el Govern de Catalunya, sense cap més element que l'adjectivi o el defineixi. Un govern per a tots, ens hagin votat o no.

Segon. El Govern que aspiro a presidir serà un govern transparent i clar, tant pel que fa a explicar a la ciutadania la difícil realitat que li pertoca gestionar, com per definir i dur a terme les propostes i accions per fer-hi front.

Tercer. El Govern que aspiro a presidir serà un govern dialogant, obert a les aportacions de tothom. Un govern que demana ajut i que vol ser ajudat. Ajudat per part de vostès, els grups parlamentaris que representen la voluntat popular. I ajudat per part de persones destacades de la nostra societat, que poden posar el seu talent i la seva experiència al servei de grans objectius de país.

En aquest sentit, i només a tall d'exemple, els anuncio que he demanat al president del Cercle d'Economia, senyor Salvador Alemany, i al president del Col·legi de Metges de Barcelona, senyor Miquel Vilardell, que posin en marxa consells assessors de format reduït i no retribuïts que ajudin el Govern a la reactivació econòmica i al creixement, en el primer cas, i a la modernització i millora del nostre sistema de salut, en el segon cas. Consells assessors que estaran a disposició també del Parlament i als quals fins i tot se'ls podran encarregar gestions i accions concretes en nom del mateix Govern.

Quart. El Govern que aspiro a presidir tindrà un alt sentit institucional. El meu propòsit és que tot allò que funciona no ha de ser canviat. El nou Govern se sentirà orgullós de tot allò que hagin fet bé els anteriors governs i ho defensarà com a propi.

Cinquè. El Govern que aspiro a presidir estarà compost per persones d'alta capacitat tècnica i professional. Un Govern amb la millor gent disponible. Un Govern que combini experiència i força política amb alta i reconeguda professionalitat.

I **sisè.** El Govern que aspiro a presidir, amb el president al capdavant donant exemple, es caracteritzarà per la seva austeritat, la seva honestedat, la seva cohesió, el seu esperit de treball, el seu sentit de país i la seva capacitat de prendre decisions, amb un lideratge ferm, serè i dialogant.

Passo a partir d'ara a presentar les prioritats del nostre programa de govern. Procuraré no caure en el detall excessiu, que podria dificultar la comprensió del projecte de fons. Amb el benentès que en el transcurs del debat respondré a les qüestions més concretes o puntuals que vostès vulguin plantejar.

D'altra banda, em sembla imprescindible, amb vista a introduir el programa de govern per als propers quatre anys, mostrar una gran prudència davant el desconeixement sobre la situació financera real del Govern de la Generalitat. No plantejo aquesta reflexió com un retret, sinó com una responsable i necessària expressió de cautela davant de l'actual situació. I per ser conscients, també, de quin és el punt de partida amb què hem d'encarar el futur. Sé de la bona predisposició de l'actual Govern, i del conseller d'Economia en particular, per fer un traspàs de poders clar i ordenat. A partir d'aquest moment coneixerem la situació real de les finances de la Generalitat,

que haurem de complementar amb estudis propis per arribar a una fotografia final de l'estat de les nostres finances.

Certament imaginem una situació difícil i delicada. Però també sabem de la fortalesa i del potencial que té la institució de la Generalitat per fer front a la necessitat d'estabilitzar les seves finances. És per tot plegat que ens obliguem a un exercici de prudència programàtica en presentar els eixos i les accions principals que volem dur a terme en aquesta propera legislatura. No vegin en aquesta prudència una excusa, sinó un exercici de màxima responsabilitat.

PROGRAMA DE GOVERN

Primer eix – Economia, empresa i ocupació.

El primer i principal objectiu del proper Govern serà aixecar Catalunya econòmicament i lluitar contra la xacra social que representa un atur superior al 17%, que en el cas dels joves de menys de 25 anys arriba al 40%. Reitero el que vaig expressar fa uns mesos: no podrem dir com a país que hem sortit de la crisi econòmica fins que no reduïm a la meitat, com a mínim, la xifra d'atur actual, que tot just ens permetria equiparar-nos a la mitjana europea actual.

Vegin en aquest propòsit de reducció dràstica de l'atur no pas tant un objectiu de Govern, sinó un objectiu de país. A tots ens pertoca sumar esforços per donar compliment a la primera preocupació de la nostra societat. L'únic camí que ens pot portar a crear ocupació és recuperar el valor social de l'empresa entesa com a cèl·lula bàsica de qualsevol sistema econòmic. L'empresa com a lloc comú del sentit emprenedor, i del sentit professional i del treball. Ens cal urgentment situar el valor i el concepte d'empresa a dalt de tot de l'escala del prestigi social.

Per fer front a l'objectiu de país de reducció substancial de l'atur, el Govern desenvoluparà un Pla per a la reactivació econòmica i el creixement, debatut i, si s'escau, consensuat amb aquest Parlament i amb el conjunt dels agents econòmics i socials. Davant de *l'espiral de la crisi* –disminució del consum, caiguda de l'activitat econòmica i de la inversió, tancament d'empreses, destrucció d'ocupació–, aquest Pla hauria de crear el marc que ens permetés contraposar-hi *l'espiral de la prosperitat*, basada en la moderació fiscal, més liquiditat per a les pimes, menys morositat, mesures de competitivitat basades en la triple “i” (innovació, internacionalització i infraestructures), formació per a l'ocupació, i un pla de reformes estructurals tant en l'àmbit català com en l'estatal.

Desenvolupo a grans trets aquestes idees.

Primera. El Govern farà una política fiscal que incentivi el creixement econòmic i l'activitat productiva. Només amb el creixement econòmic aconseguirem crear més llocs de treball i incrementar els recursos disponibles per a les polítiques públiques. Cal, doncs, moderació fiscal, si volem créixer econòmicament. Certament, cal també reduir els dèficits públics, però és preferible fer-ho gastant millor que no pas apujant els impostos de manera genèrica.

És des d'aquesta perspectiva de moderació fiscal que s'hauran de revisar de manera progressiva els increments impositius adoptats darrerament pel Govern, i equiparar l'impost de successions i donacions al dels territoris de l'Estat amb una fiscalitat més favorable, a fi d'eliminar qualsevol discriminació entre Catalunya i la resta de l'Estat.

En un sentit més ampli, qualsevol increment de la pressió fiscal ha de ser posterior a la recuperació econòmica, però no anterior, com passa ara, que es dificulta o s'alenteix la recuperació mateixa.

Segona. El Govern ha de fer tot el que sigui possible per afavorir una més important circulació del diner, posant en marxa un potent sistema d'aval públics, especialment dirigit a les petites i mitjanes empreses, que són les que tenen més dificultat per accedir al crèdit. El progressiu compliment de la Llei de la morositat ha de ser un altre element que permeti alleugerir les tensions de tresoreria de moltes empreses i proveïdors del sector públic.

Tercera. El Govern ha d'utilitzar tots els instruments al seu abast per impulsar un model econòmic basat en l'estalvi i la inversió, les exportacions, el valor afegit, la formació i les millores de la productivitat i superar així un model obsolet fonamentat en l'excés de consum a base de grans endeutaments, la bombolla immobiliària, l'ocupació poc qualificada i un diferencial inassumible entre importacions i exportacions.

Quarta . El Govern ha de donar prioritat a les micropolítiques que millorin la productivitat del nostre teixit econòmic. Si volem mantenir i reforçar el nostre benestar cal millorar la nostra productivitat, perquè, si no es fa, ens veurem abocats a pèrdues de benestar col·lectiu.

Micropolítiques econòmiques signifiquen més i millors infraestructures de transport –des del corredor del Mediterrani fins a un sistema aeroportuari propi i autònom– que reforcin la nostra capacitat exportadora de béns i serveis. Signifiquen apostes clares de transformació de diners en coneixement –la recerca– i de coneixement en diners –la innovació–, aprofitant al màxim el vigent Pacte Nacional per a la Recerca i la Innovació, en un moment en què Catalunya s'ha situat en el mapa europeu, i en alguns casos mundial, en aquests terrenys de futur.

Micropolítiques signifiquen acompanyar i facilitar la internacionalització del nostre teixit productiu, tenint ben present que la conquesta de mercats exteriors requereix una atenció constant, dinàmica i lliure de burocràcia per part del Govern.

Micropolítiques signifiquen també una bona i eficaç orientació de la formació professional, assignatura eternament pendent a Catalunya, i aposta que serà convenientment reflectida en l'organigrama del nou Govern.

Cinquena. El Govern que aspiro a presidir serà un Govern *business-friendly*, amic de l'activitat econòmica. Els sectors productius han de veure en el Govern un aliat que afavoreix el seu creixement i desenvolupament, en lloc d'un agent que hi posa traves i dificulta l'activitat econòmica.

Això requereix accions específiques per als autònoms i les microempreses, i per a pimes en general: infraestructures i centres de suport per a la indústria; perquè no hem d'oblidar que una part de la recuperació econòmica l'hauem de basar en una clara aposta de relançament industrial.

Accions específiques en el camp de la construcció i l'habitatge, sabent que aquest sector no ha de tornar a tenir un pes tan determinant com havia tingut els anys del *boom* immobiliari, però sense oblidar que Catalunya disposa d'una base professional i tècnica en aquest sector que hem de saber valorar i aprofitar en el futur.

Accions en l'àmbit del comerç, amb una nova Llei general del comerç i dels serveis de Catalunya, amb l'objectiu d'unificar, actualitzar i completar la normativa actualment dispersa, per tal de recuperar i potenciar el model català de comerç.

Accions en el terreny del turisme, com la consolidació de la marca *Catalunya* com a destinació turística, i la creació de la línia Turisme Futur, com a sistema de finançament permanent adaptat a les necessitats específiques de les empreses turístiques.

Accions en el món agrari i ramader, aplicant els acords del Ple monogràfic celebrat el passat mes d'abril d'enguany. Per exemple, estimulament mesures d'acompanyament per a la implantació de les polítiques ambientals en l'agroindústria, introduint un règim simplificat per a la legalització ambiental d'instal·lacions de petita dimensió o situades a municipis rurals, o defensant el sector agrari català davant les institucions europees. En definitiva, situant la pagesia com a un sector estratègic del nostre país.

Amb la mateixa fermesa i actitud cal també defensar el sector pesquer, amb el compromís –entre d'altres– de desenvolupar mesures de suport a la comercialització dels productes de la pesca de casa nostra.

Accions específiques, també, per anar consolidant sectors amb gran potencial de cara al futur i amb una identificació clara amb el territori català, com poden ser les indústries culturals, la indústria de la salut, la indústria agroalimentària i la indústria del disseny.

Aquestes són accions i prioritats que han d'ajudar a fer realitat *l'espiral de prosperitat* que els indicava, i donar sortida a la recuperació econòmica de Catalunya.

Segon eix - Educació

L'objectiu fonamental del segon eix de l'acció de govern que els proposo és fer front al fracàs escolar. No podem parlar d'una educació de qualitat fins que no reduïm notablement les actuals xifres de fracàs escolar, com a mínim també fins a la meitat. I ho hauríem de poder fer en els propers vuit a deu anys.

Catalunya pot aspirar a ser un dels països de referència en matèria educativa. Tenim un bon punt de partida: una tradi-

ció docent de bon nivell i uns professionals de l'ensenyament amb una gran potencialitat. Tenim, a més, la Llei catalana d'educació, un pacte de país elaborat per una majoria sòlida d'aquest Parlament, i que faig personalment meu. Una Llei que ens ha de permetre posar el focus en els resultats del sistema educatiu i oblidar, per exemple, l'anacrònic i paralitzant debat sobre la titularitat de les escoles. Tots els centres escolars, amb independència de la seva titularitat, són i han de ser un servei d'interès públic.

És fonamental la implicació de tots els agents educatius en aquesta gran tasca que és fer de l'educació un dels referents per a un país de qualitat. L'educació anticipa el futur i cohesiona la societat. Per tal que l'ascensor social funcioni a Catalunya cal que l'educació funcioni millor. Si l'ascensor social s'atura, Catalunya perdrà un dels seus grans trets d'identitat.

Convé també recordar que la millora de l'ensenyament no descansa exclusivament, ni tan sols principalment, en abocar-hi més recursos econòmics. Tothom sap que en el context actual i a curt termini serà pràcticament impossible gastar o invertir més diners. La manca de recursos, però, no pot ser l'excusa per aturar reformes que afecten més el model d'ensenyament que no pas el pressupost. La clau de la millora de l'ensenyament rau precisament en la millor evolució i orientació del model.

Les reformes i prioritats que entenem com a principals es poden resumir en les següents:

Primera. Formació de mestres i concentració de recursos a fi de detectar precoçment el fracàs escolar, procurant que quan es detecta no sigui ja massa tard per intervenir-hi a temps.

Segona. Actuar, si cal, sobre el currículum per fer de la competència lectora un punt central de la lluita contra el fracàs

escolar. El mateix raonament serveix per a l'expressió oral i escrita, la capacitat de càlcul i de raonament matemàtic, i l'aprenentatge de llengües estrangeres.

Tercera. Garantir que els mestres siguin la pedra angular del sistema educatiu. Necessitem bons mestres i ben formats per fer possible el gran repte de combatre el fracàs escolar i millorar significativament la qualitat del nostre ensenyament. Ens cal també descomprimir el sistema escolar de burocràcia inútil, controls de tota mena i canvis de criteri constants i contradictoris, procurant que els mestres facin de mestres i no de buròcrates.

Quarta. Cada centre ha de ser un bon centre. Això requereix autonomia real per poder prendre decisions i administrar recursos.

Cinquena. Garantir el dret a l'educació en un marc de llibertat, on es faci realitat el model educatiu d'interès públic basat en la corresponsabilitat entre famílies i Administració, i s'eviti la delegació de responsabilitats de les primeres respecte a la segona. La família i els pares són els primers responsables de l'educació dels seus fills i, en conseqüència, han de disposar de més llibertat a l'hora de triar el centre educatiu dels seus fills.

Sisena. Garantir a través dels currículums escolars el domini ple del català, el castellà i l'anglès en finalitzar l'etapa educativa. El català, però, com a llengua pròpia, serà la llengua emprada normalment com a llengua vehicular, d'aprenentatge i de relació escolar en totes les etapes i en tots els centres. Aquest ha estat el model que tots aquests anys ha facilitat tant l'aprenentatge de les dues llengües oficials com l'actuació de garant de la cohesió social. Aquest és un model socialment just i nacionalment necessari. Model que ha rebut diversos reconeixements internacionals per la seva efectivitat en assolir

els seus objectius. L'aposta del Govern que aspiro a presidir serà per una escola catalana i uns alumnes trilingües.

Abans de tancar l'eix destinat a l'educació permetin-me fer una breu referència a la universitat. La universitat ha d'esdevenir un dels agents clau que possibiliti que la propera dècada sigui la dècada del coneixement a Catalunya. Una universitat que ha de fer una clara aposta per l'Espai Europeu d'Educació Superior i de Recerca, per la qualitat formativa i per una projecció internacional del sistema català i de la marca *Universitat de Catalunya*. Aquesta aposta també quedarà reflectida en l'organigrama del nou Govern que proposaré si resulto investit president de la Generalitat.

Tercer eix – Sanitat

El model sanitari català és un model d'èxit que és necessari preservar i, per tal de fer-ho, ens cal apostar per un model d'interès públic i de qualitat –que inclogui el tractament de la malaltia, la prevenció, la promoció de la salut i dels hàbits saludables, la rehabilitació, l'assistència i la recerca– i basat en els principis d'universalitat, assistència de qualitat, equitat, solidaritat i sostenibilitat.

Catalunya ha sabut construir un dels millors sistemes sanitaris d'Europa i, per tant, del món. Es tracta, però, d'un sistema fortament tensionat, que requereix d'algunes reformes per no perdre qualitat.

Primera. Centres de salut més autònoms en la seva gestió, alliberats de les càrregues burocràtiques actuals, clarament excessives. La Generalitat ha de planificar serveis, garantir drets, controlar i avaluar qualitats i resultats, i vetllar per un sistema de salut just i equitatiu. Aquesta responsabilitat no és delegable, però tampoc pot ser l'excusa per retallar la capacitat d'autoorganització i autonomia dels centres de salut.

Segona. La sanitat és un element d'interès públic, però això no implica que qui que presta el servei hagi de ser necessàriament l'Administració. Cal buscar les millors fórmules de gestió amb independència de la titularitat del servei, i responsabilitzar els professionals d'aquesta gestió.

Tercera. Decidir com a país i per ampli consens quin catàleg de serveis podem garantir i quin no, ja que el sistema està tensionat pel fet que en deu anys s'han fet més d'un milió de targetes sanitàries noves.

Quarta. Flexibilitzar les condicions de jubilació dels metges, de manera voluntària, a fi d'aprofitar les altes capacitats professionals de metges amb una llarga experiència.

Cinquena. La clau principal del nostre sistema sanitari són els seus professionals. Metges, infermeres, farmacèutics, personal auxiliar han d'implicar-se en les millores de gestió, promoure la formació continuada i l'intercanvi de coneixements.

Sisena. En un moment en què el sistema sanitari de provisió i finançament públic està immers en les dificultats pròpies d'una situació econòmica i pressupostària complicada, el Govern ha de prendre mesures que permetin el manteniment d'un sistema complementari, no alternatiu, d'assegurament privat.

Setena. Ens caldrà revisar com a país la manera d'accedir als estudis de medicina, perquè no té sentit que alumnes amb vocació de ser metges i amb bons expedients acadèmics no puguin ni tan sols accedir a les facultats de medicina.

Vuitena. Convé racionalitzar bé les inversions futures en el sistema sanitari, no duplicant serveis d'alta tecnificació i aprofitant bé l'àmplia oferta avui existent.

El Govern que aspiro a presidir no és partidari del copagament en la sanitat. Els principals usuaris del sistema són els jubilats i la pensió mitjana és de 900 euros al mes. El copagament afectaria la part més vulnerable de la població. Es buscaran mesures alternatives realment destinades a superar els actuals abusos en la demanda del sistema sanitari.

Vull finalitzar aquest tercer eix fent referència a la investigació biomèdica i biotecnològica i a la recerca en tecnologies de la salut. La recerca ha de ser un dels motors de modernització del sistema productiu del país. En aquest sentit, el Govern potenciarà la bioregió com a un dels motors de dinamització econòmica del país, en col·laboració amb la indústria i els centres de recerca existents.

Quart eix – Polítiques socials i de família.

La nació comença amb les persones. I són i seran les persones, el seu desenvolupament i el seu benestar, la principal preocupació i responsabilitat del Govern que aspiro a presidir.

Aixecar el país des del punt de vista econòmic i educatiu és la millor inversió en polítiques socials. És sembrar la base que ha de permetre garantir i millorar l'estat del benestar. Crear riquesa és el millor mitjà per poder redistribuir de manera més justa els recursos disponibles. La dita catalana és prou clara: "D'on no n'hi ha, no en raja". Només si aconseguim que el país recuperi un ritme econòmic suficient i sostingut, podrem mantenir i millorar el nostre estat del benestar.

En l'actual context de forts desequilibris en les finances públiques, no serà possible incrementar a curt termini els pressupostos destinats a polítiques socials i de família. Tanmateix, un compromís ha de quedar molt clar: qualsevol millora de les nostres finances ha de tenir un efecte immediat i directe en augmentar el pes de les polítiques socials fins a arribar al 55%

sobre el pressupost de la Generalitat, que havíem assolit en altres moments.

Conjuntament amb l'increment del nivell de despesa en polítiques socials, en aquest quart eix de l'acció de govern voldria que també es visualitzés com a prioritat cabdal la promoció de la família i de la natalitat. La família és la cèl·lula bàsica de la societat. Si no garantim una organització de la nostra societat sobre la base de famílies sòlides i estructurades, minvarà la nostra cohesió social, i més en moments de dificultat com els actuals. Els reconec que seria voluntat del Govern que aspiro a presidir el compromís de garantir de manera immediata que s'estendran més enllà dels tres anys els ajuts directes a les famílies amb infants, però cal ser conscients que no podrem aplicar aquesta mesura fins que no es torni a crear riquesa en termes reals.

Altres accions a tenir en compte en el camp del benestar social són:

Primera. Tenim intenció de desenvolupar un marc legal propi d'autonomia personal, el que en podríem dir una Llei catalana d'atenció a la dependència. El Govern de la Generalitat és el responsable principal de vetllar pel benestar dels seus ciutadans, i no ha de delegar fora de Catalunya aquesta competència. I, sobretot, el Govern de la Generalitat ha de demostrar una especial sensibilitat vers totes les persones amb discapacitat, tant psíquica com física, i la seva integració social.

Segona. Fixar com a objectiu de país la inclusió social i la lluita contra la pobresa, en un moment en què tenim més persones excloses en situació de marginació o de pobresa creixent.

Tercera. Li correspon a l'Administració garantir els drets, la qualitat, l'accés a les prestacions, l'equitat i la planificació dels serveis. Podem i hem de fer, però, la gestió dels serveis co-

responsablement amb el teixit d'entitats d'iniciativa social i empreses del nostre país. El tercer sector civicosocial està cridat a jugar un paper clau en aquest àmbit.

Quarta. El suport a la infància, la joventut i la gent gran.

Els infants són el futur d'un país i han de tenir garantides les necessàries mesures de prevenció i protecció, especialment els que tenen més situació de risc.

Els joves són un col·lectiu especialment maltractat per la crisi, amb unes xifres d'atur del 40% que dificulten la seva emancipació i l'accés a la vida adulta en igualtat de condicions. Un país que no inverteix en els seus joves està hipotecant el seu futur. El Govern haurà d'invertir en les que són les preocupacions bàsiques dels joves: feina, formació i habitatge assequible.

Les societats occidentals, i Catalunya no n'és una excepció, veuen com s'incrementa progressivament el nombre de persones grans que les conformen. Persones grans que gràcies als avenços mèdics tenen cada cop millors condicions de vida i viuen més anys. Necessitem una participació activa de la gent gran a la societat i aprofitar tot el coneixement i l'experiència que han acumulat al llarg de la vida.

Cinquena. Les diferències de religió, sexe, raça i orientació sexual, entre altres, no han de suposar en cap cas una desigualtat, i l'únic camí per aconseguir-ho és el respecte a aquesta pluralitat i l'establiment d'una xarxa transversal que garanteixi la igualtat d'oportunitats en tots els camps del desenvolupament personal i professional.

Sisena. Catalunya és i ha estat sempre un país d'acollida i integració. El somni català es conforma a partir de la voluntat de crear una comunitat de destí i no d'origen. Per reforçar la cohesió social ens cal la integració de les persones novín-

gudes, amb drets i deures. S'han desenvolupat bones eines, com el Pacte Nacional per la Immigració i la Llei d'acollida, a les quals ara caldrà donar compliment.

Vull fer una breu referència, per acabar aquest eix de l'acció de govern, al món de l'esport. La pràctica de l'esport afavoreix la salut i la socialització i és alhora una eina important per a la cohesió. El Govern que aspiro a presidir garantirà el suport a les entitats i els clubs que fomenten la pràctica de l'esport. I des de la Presidència mateixa de la Generalitat es tutelarà la política esportiva, atenent el relleu que cal atorgar-li com a país.

Cinquè eix – Seguretat.

Un nivell més alt de seguretat suposa un nivell més alt de benestar, de llibertat i de qualitat de vida.

La política de seguretat serà una de les prioritats clares del Govern que aspiro a presidir. Una política de seguretat efectiva és la que assoleix els seus objectius sense ser notícia constant. Cal que les anècdotes en matèria de seguretat deixin de ser referent constant en l'opinió pública i que el prestigi i la tasca ben feta dels cossos de seguretat i emergències en siguin l'element més destacable en el futur.

La política de seguretat del Govern estarà definida per dos elements clau:

Primer. Tolerància zero amb la delinqüència i lluita ferma contra el crim organitzat, el tràfic de drogues prop de les escoles, i el vandalisme antisistema. En aquest sentit, és clau que la capital del país, Barcelona, deixi de ser notícia arreu del món com a capital de referència de la transgressió i que establim mesures clares que posin fre de manera efectiva a la multireincidència. La darrera reforma del Codi penal ens dona una clara oportunitat que volem aprofitar.

Segon. Ens proposem recuperar el prestigi i l'autoestima del cos de la policia de la Generalitat-Mossos d'Esquadra. Després d'uns anys difícils per al cos, el Govern que aspiro a presidir vol fer de la confiança i el respecte vers la policia el referent de la seva actuació. S'acabarà immediatament amb les actituds de dubte i de qüestionament permanent del cos dels darrers anys. Tal i com ja vaig anunciar al seu moment, si sóc investit president, una de les primeres accions que ordenaré serà la supressió del denominat *Codi ètic* dels Mossos d'Esquadra. Un codi deontològic és sempre necessari i oportú en qualsevol professió. Però és un error inexcusable pretendre'n la imposició des d'un govern, i més encara si és contra la voluntat dels professionals als quals va destinat.

Definits els dos elements clau en matèria de seguretat, no vull tancar aquest eix de l'acció de govern sense fer referència a la gestió d'emergències i del trànsit.

El Govern que aspiro a presidir implementarà un sistema de gestió integral d'emergències i dotarà dels mitjans necessaris el cos de bombers, tot donant compliment a les recomanacions de la Comissió d'Investigació Parlamentària del foc d'Horta de Sant Joan.

Com tot govern, reduir la sinistralitat a les carreteres catalanes serà una prioritat en matèria de seguretat viària. Es milloraran les mesures destinades a reduir les situacions de risc i, donant compliment al que hem anat defensant els darrers anys, s'eliminarà la limitació horària indiscriminada dels 80 km/h a les àrees d'accés a Barcelona.

Sisè eix – Política territorial i sostenibilitat.

Apostar per l'equilibri territorial, construir les infraestructures necessàries i garantir la sostenibilitat dels nostres recursos naturals són els tres pilars que proposo per dur a terme una

política territorial moderna i ajustada a les prioritats del nostre país.

Només amb un país equilibrat territorialment es garantirà l'accés als serveis en igualtat de condicions per a tots els ciutadans, amb independència del seu lloc de treball o de residència. I només la presència d'activitat econòmica arreu és garantia d'aquesta igualtat territorial. En aquest sentit, el proper Govern haurà d'actuar de manera que no s'escapi activitat econòmica del país, facilitant la feina dels que volen invertir, sempre que sigui compatible amb la realitat de cada territori.

Necessitem més que mai un país en xarxa, totalment lligat, ben connectat pel que fa al transport de persones i mercaderies, a l'aigua, a l'energia, i també respecte a les tecnologies de la comunicació. És per això que també vull assumir el compromís de promoure totes les infraestructures que el país necessita, prioritzant les que ofereixin un millor rendiment en termes de creixement econòmic.

Situades aquestes prioritats –equilibri territorial i construcció de les infraestructures necessàries–, entrats com estem al segle XXI, seria una gran irresponsabilitat no situar també com a prioritat en la política territorial la necessària sostenibilitat del nostre medi natural i, si m'ho permeten, de tot allò que impulsem o fem. La sostenibilitat no pot ser només una etiqueta, sinó que ha d'impregnar tota l'acció del Govern i, si fos possible, de tota la societat mateixa. És per això que els proposo passar la pàgina de la guerra de banderes o etiquetes, i fer de la sostenibilitat un objectiu que combini amb encert i eficàcia la preservació del nostre medi natural, creant un nou ecologisme del fer que permeti garantir el creixement econòmic que ens cal avui, i el futur que volem per a demà.

Situades les grans prioritats, passo a esmentar algunes accions més concretes.

Primera. Disposem avui de les eines necessàries per trencar les barreres d'espai i temps: les tecnologies de la comunicació i la informació. Tecnologies que permeten que el talent i la creativitat puguin pesar més que el lloc físic on es desenvolupa l'activitat. Per això estímularem mesures per garantir l'accés en igualtat de condicions a aquestes tecnologies arreu del territori.

Segona. Tan important com la inversió i construcció d'infraestructures, n'és la gestió. De poc hauran servit les inversions milionàries en infraestructures d'aquests darrers deu anys si no som capaços de gestionar-les d'acord amb els interessos i les prioritats del nostre país. Aquesta reflexió val particularment per a les infraestructures com l'aeroport de Barcelona o els altres aeroports de Catalunya, els serveis de trens de totes les característiques, els ports de Barcelona i Tarragona, etc. La gestió de totes aquestes infraestructures s'ha de fer des de Catalunya i pensant en Catalunya. Aquest és el compromís i l'aposta del Govern que aspiro a presidir.

Tercera. Es garantirà la connectivitat i l'accés a tot el territori de l'aigua i l'energia. Catalunya no és una illa que pugui romandre al marge de les xarxes d'aigua i d'energia. L'aigua cal anar a buscar-la allà on n'hi hagi excedents i d'on sigui menys costós energèticament portar-la. I respecte a l'energia necessària per activar el nostre país econòmicament, cal anar cap a un model energètic més àgil, més net, més eficient i més respectuós quant al canvi climàtic. Cal apostar per reduir la dependència dels combustibles fòssils costosos i contaminants, a través de més pes de les energies renovables –que sigui compatible amb l'estructura de costos del teixit productiu, a fi de no perjudicar la capacitat de competir– i a través de millorar l'eficiència en la utilització de l'energia amb mesures d'estalvi. En aquest sentit, s'impulsarà una política fiscal verda, que incentivi les empreses a invertir en aprofitament d'aigües, reciclatge de residus, estalvi i eficiència.

Permetin-me una breu referència a les polítiques d'habitatge. La política d'habitatge s'integrarà en l'àmbit de la política territorial i haurà de fer front de manera prioritària a la sortida de l'estoc d'habitatges sense vendre ni llogar, clarament excessiu en moltes poblacions catalanes. I al mateix temps concentrar els recursos disponibles en l'àmbit del lloguer i de la rehabilitació.

Setè eix – Administracions.

Actualment, l'Administració de la Generalitat representa aproximadament un 20% del PIB català. Amb aquest volum sobre el total de l'economia, l'Administració no pot quedar al marge de les grans reformes que s'han de dur a terme en tots els àmbits. No s'entendria que des de la política es pre-diquin reformes per a tots els sectors, excepte per aquell del qual som directament responsables. Govern i Parlament han d'assumir que no poden defugir de fer front a la gran reforma pendent, la de l'Administració i la de la funció pública, tot i les limitacions que encara tenim a escala de marc legal.

La reforma que els proposo s'ha de fer comptant amb els actius interns de la mateixa Administració: un gran nombre de professionals d'alta qualificació i un *know-how* acumulat que hem de saber aprofitar. L'objectiu que perseguim és una administració amb bona capacitat de resposta, tràmits més senzills i menys burocràcia. He parlat sovint d'una triple "a", que ha de caracteritzar el funcionament de les administracions: austeritat, aprimament i agilitat.

Creiem en una administració austera, per això en el proper Govern hi haurà una reducció d'un 20% del nombre de departaments –un màxim de dotze en lloc dels quinze actuals–, i una reducció d'alts càrrecs i personal de confiança d'un mínim del 25%. I també proposo reduir entre un mínim d'un 15% i un 25% la despesa en informes, estudis tècnics,

campanyes institucionals, despeses de representació, publicitat i protocol.

Les polítiques d'austeritat han d'anar acompanyades d'altres que amb el pas del temps vagin aprimant l'estructura de la Generalitat, que ha crescut en excés. En aquest sentit, caldrà no cobrir les baixes per jubilació –excepte en serveis bàsics–, i redimensionar a la baixa molts organismes autònoms, empreses i consorcis de l'Administració, fusionant entitats per evitar duplicitats i eliminant les que no siguin estrictament necessàries. També caldrà impulsar la concertació de serveis per part de la Generalitat, aprofitant la llarga i rica tradició d'entitats privades i teixit associatiu del nostre país.

Volem una administració àgil. Ens comprometem a no aprovar cap regulació nova que no comporti, com a mínim, l'eliminació d'una d'antiga i, si en poden ser dues, millor. L'objectiu han de ser menys normes, més ben fetes i més fàcils de complir. Una administració àgil vol dir una administració col·laboradora i facilitadora de l'activitat, i amb empleats públics més formats i més incentivats.

La fórmula de bon govern que volem per a l'Administració catalana es defineix amb més lideratge i menys burocràcia. Més austeritat i menys despesa inútil o supèrflua. Més llibertat i menys dirigisme. Més protecció i menys control.

Permetin-me tancar aquest setè eix de l'acció de govern fent una breu referència al model d'organització territorial, a l'Administració de justícia i a la necessitat d'una nova Llei electoral.

Catalunya ha de tenir una organització territorial pròpia, procurant superar l'actual divisió provincial del segle XIX, consensuada amb el territori, i que no suposi un augment de costos i de nivells administratius per als ciutadans. A Catalunya no hi

caben més nivells d'administració. També caldrà desplegar les lleis de governs locals, de finançament local i la de l'Aran, per tal de desplegar el règim jurídic especial previst a l'Estatut.

L'Administració de justícia ha d'estar configurada com un bon servei públic per als ciutadans. Seran prioritats l'impuls del Consell de Justícia de Catalunya, com a òrgan de govern descentralitzat del poder judicial i amb totes les funcions per poder acostar la justícia al ciutadà, així com l'assumpció de les plenes competències sobre els mitjans materials, les oficines judicials i els òrgans i els serveis de suport. Així mateix, l'esforç inversor de futur caldrà focalitzar-lo sobre la millora del sistema que poden suposar les tecnologies de la informació i de la comunicació.

Per lluitar contra la desafecció també necessitem una administració més transparent i més propera a la ciutadania. El Govern que aspiro a presidir buscarà aconseguir el consens necessari per elaborar una Llei electoral de Catalunya, que afavoreixi l'apropament de la política a la ciutadania i garanteixi l'adequada representació del conjunt del país.

De la mateixa manera, caldrà modificar la Llei de consultes via referèndum aprovada la darrera legislatura, a fi de facilitar la participació ciutadana sense necessitat d'intervenció dels poders públics estatals.

Vuitè eix – Nació.

La defensa, millora i creixement de l'autogovern, el desenvolupament d'una política activa de defensa i promoció de la llengua i la cultura catalanes, així com la garantia de la projecció exterior del nostre país, són els objectius principals que el Govern que aspiro a presidir desenvoluparà en matèria d'autogovern i identitat.

Pel que fa a l'autogovern, volem aconseguir noves cotes de sobirania per a Catalunya, mitjançant tots els mecanismes que tinguem a l'abast. Per exemple, començant per la potencialitat que li queda a l'Estatut després de la Sentència del Tribunal Constitucional. Renegociant amb el Govern de l'Estat tots els traspassos que no s'han tancat correctament. I també, exigint i fent possible el compliment íntegre del que se'ns deu de la disposició addicional tercera de l'Estatut en matèria d'inversions en infraestructures.

La política lingüística tindrà com a principal objectiu avançar cap a la plena normalització del català, amb accions com el desplegament del Reglament de la Llei del cinema, o el reforçament del paper de la Televisió de Catalunya com a motor del sector audiovisual en català.

La cultura és el nervi de la nació. És l'element central que la vertebrava i la defineix. De la cultura emana el sistema de valors propis que ens caracteritza com a poble i ens permet dialogar, en igualtat de condicions, amb la resta de cultures d'arreu del món. Des del punt de vista cultural, podem i hem d'actuar com un país independent.

Tanmateix, es fa necessari, per dignificar i potenciar la nostra cultura, afavorir la tasca dels creadors, desenvolupar nous públics, estimular la professionalització, la industrialització i la internacionalització dels diferents actors i agents culturals. I donar valor, com a gran factor d'identitat, cohesió i integració, a la nostra cultura popular i tradicional.

Un país que vol ser present al món global ha de vetllar per la seva projecció i desenvolupar una política de relacions exteriors que promogui la màxima integració possible de Catalunya al món, la presència en els fòrums econòmics, en els diferents organismes i comitès de treball de la Unió Europea i en altres organismes internacionals, com la UNESCO.

El futur Govern té com a objectiu irrenunciable situar Catalunya al món. Situar-la econòmicament, culturalment, turística-ment, nacionalment, i políticament. Donar a conèixer la realitat catalana arreu i procurant aprofitar el nostre potencial de capitalitat mediterrània per projectar-nos al món no com una regió perifèrica d'Espanya, sinó com una nació central del sud d'Europa, ròtula entre les riberes sud i nord de la mar Mediterrània.

El gran repte de país: obrir la transició catalana basada en el dret a decidir, amb el Pacte Fiscal com a primer objectiu.

Presentats els vuit eixos principals sobre els quals girarà l'acció del Govern que aspiro a presidir, vull fer una reflexió específica sobre el repte històric de país que ens cal afrontar els propers anys.

La Catalunya d'avui és fruit del fil roig de moltes generacions que han maldat per construir una nació amb progrés econòmic i social, i amb capacitat d'autogovern. És des d'aquesta perspectiva que va néixer i es va forjar l'Acord de l'Estatut del 2006, que va ser validat directament pel poble de Catalunya, i que pretenia renovar la relació amb l'Estat espanyol a partir del reconeixement nacional de Catalunya i del salt en l'autogovern i el finançament.

És així que la Sentència del Tribunal Constitucional contra l'Estatut té una dimensió també històrica per a tots nosaltres. Negligir-ho i voler-la situar en el terreny purament anecdòtic no només seria un error, sinó que seria donar l'esquena a la veu democràtica del poble català.

S'ha constatat, tal i com van dir clarament alguns pares de la Constitució, que el pacte constitucional entre Catalunya i l'Estat tal i com el llegeix l'actual Tribunal Constitucional no

dóna més de si. El Tribunal Constitucional ha tallat de soca-rel qualsevol possibilitat de fer evolucionar Espanya cap a un estat plurinacional. Catalunya ha d'entendre que Espanya vol seguir sent una sola nació amb un sol Estat. I no sembla que res la faci canviar en aquest propòsit. Hi té el seu dret i s'ha d'assumir. Tanmateix, Espanya també ha d'entendre que Catalunya i el poble català no defalliran, com no ho han fet al llarg de la història, en la defensa del seu autogovern i les seves llibertats. Ens cal, per tant, forjar el nostre propi camí de futur, ens cal canviar i començar un nou camí.

Val a dir que el nou camí ja el va marcar el poble de Catalunya en la manifestació del 10 de juliol amb el lema "Som una Nació, nosaltres decidim". I, sobretot, l'ha marcat amb el resultat de les eleccions del passat dia 28 de novembre.

Igual que Espanya va fer la seva transició democràtica un cop acabada la dictadura franquista, Catalunya ha d'encetar la seva transició nacional. Parlo de transició, no de revolució. I, com tota transició, cal fer-la de manera democràtica, pacífica, i a base de grans consensos interiors.

En aquest sentit, el dret a decidir aconsella, i de fet, requereix, que els temes sobre els quals s'exerceixi descansin sobre majories àmplies qualificades o reforçades, amb la finalitat de donar a la decisió tota la legitimitat i la força necessàries. I també d'evitar dividir la societat en dues meitats, amb el risc de fractura social i nacional que això comporta.

El dret a decidir dels catalans enfonsa les seves arrels en les conviccions i en les creences més genuïnament democràtiques. El dret a decidir d'un poble és l'exercici de la democràcia en estat pur. A quin demòcrata li fa por això? A quina persona amb principis democràtics sòlids i ben fonamentats li pot fer basarda que la democràcia es manifesti amb naturalitat? Si Catalunya és una nació, i ho serà mentre els catalans

ho vulguin, i no és simplement una derivada o un subproducte constitucional, els catalans tenen, tenim, el dret democràtic a decidir el que més ens convé com a poble.

És responsabilitat d'un president i d'un govern no tancar les portes als anhels d'un poble, així com evitar fractures internes i portar-lo a la frustració. Per tant, proposarem, com a gran repte per als propers anys en el camí de la transició catalana que iniciem, basada en el dret a decidir, la definició d'un model propi de finançament per a Catalunya: el Pacte Fiscal.

La demanda d'un model de finançament més just per a Catalunya genera grans consensos en la societat catalana. I consensos transversals entre els electors de les diferents formacions polítiques d'aquest Parlament. Aprofitem la força que neix de la reclamació justa dels nostres conciutadans per assolir el Pacte Fiscal que ens permeti decidir sobre els recursos que nosaltres mateixos generem com a país i com a societat.

Aquest gran repte de país no pot afrontar-lo un govern en solitari, ni tant sols un Parlament. Cal sumar-hi tots els agents socials, la societat civil organitzada i la majoria de la ciutadania al costat. La força de la unitat és el nostre principal actiu davant d'una demanda que sabem justa i necessària.

Estem oberts a acordar amb vostès la millor manera de forjar un acord intern a Catalunya d'àmplia base per plantejar amb tota la força la demanda del Pacte Fiscal que permeti gestionar a la Generalitat els recursos que es generen a Catalunya. Un pacte fiscal inspirat per tant en els models de concert o conveni econòmics.

La nostra proposta es podria resumir així:

Aprofitar l'any 2011 per bastir a Catalunya els acords interns necessaris, com més amplis millor.

Treballar de manera discreta per no reproduir la discussió fatigant de l'Estatut. La ciutadania no entendria que aquest fos l'únic tema de debat prioritari en aquest Parlament.

Plantejar el Pacte Fiscal acordat a Catalunya al proper Govern central, en el moment de la seva constitució després de les pròximes eleccions a Corts Generals.

Condicionar la nostra política d'estabilitat i governabilitat a Madrid a la consecució del Pacte Fiscal.

Els parlava, en el punt anterior, del fil roig de la història mil·lenària de Catalunya, de la qual nosaltres som hereus i continuadors.

Tanmateix, les nacions les fan dones i homes concrets. Els líders només són els qui interpreten el sentit de cada moment històric, els que troben el camí escoltant amb atenció el batec de la societat. Jo vull escoltar el batec d'avui perquè em sento hereu de tots els que m'han precedit en el lideratge del país. Em sento hereu d'Enric Prat de la Riba (forjador de la primera Administració catalana, el 1714, per mins que fos), de Francesc Macià (el president estimat, idealista, que va saber captar la realitat sense renunciar als ideals), de Lluís Companys (el president afusellat pel fet de ser president de Catalunya), de Josep Irla (el president de la resistència), de Josep Tarradellas (el president de la continuïtat, del retorn i de la recuperació de la Generalitat), de Jordi Pujol (el president constructor de la Catalunya moderna, promotor del respecte i del bon nom de Catalunya), de Pasqual Maragall (el president del nou Estatut) i de José Montilla (el president que exemplifica l'èxit del model català d'integració). De tots ells, n'agafo el millor, de tots ells en vull preservar el llegat més valuós. A tots ells els hem de donar les gràcies per haver dirigit el país i servit la seva gent. Jo, humilment, vull continuar fent camí.

Tots els presidents que he esmentat són fites en el fil roig del catalanisme que ha construït la nació. El catalanisme ha estat el principal factor de modernitat de la Catalunya contemporània. Malgrat els forts cops de vent i de mar que han fet escorar i alguns cops embarrancar el vaixell de la nostra història, la vitalitat del catalanisme ha proporcionat a la gent una brúixola i un mapa molt valuosos.

Ara ens toca a nosaltres, dones i homes de començaments del segle XXI, de fer servir la brúixola amb encert i tornar a mirar el mapa per avançar. I començar una nova singladura, aprofitant els vents favorables que puguem trobar.

Catalunya és una idea en moviment. Catalunya és una idea construïda amb els somnis, els anhels i el treball de dones i homes concrets, una idea viva, perquè ha estat assumida i sostinguda per diverses generacions fins al dia d'avui. Catalunya segueix sent Catalunya perquè els catalans, malgrat el nostre poder limitat, hem tingut i tenim el gran poder de creure en nosaltres mateixos. Per això, la nació catalana ha sobreviscut a diversos intents d'aniquilació. Per sobre i per sota de la nació material hi ha una idea poderosa, atractiva i compartida que ens salva de les derrotes i ens projecta cap el futur: el catalanisme, com a esperança en nosaltres mateixos i en les nostres forces. El catalanisme, com a sentiment d'estima al país i de compromís amb la seva gent.

Som, doncs, i des de fa tres-cents anys, una idea d'esperança contra la derrota, contra la resignació, contra l'assimilació, contra la desaparició i contra l'oblit. L'endemà mateix de l'11 de setembre de 1714, quan la ciutat de Barcelona va caure davant les tropes francocastellanes, el nostre país va començar a creure en el futur i es va posar a treballar. Venim d'aquell moment tràgic d'autoafirmació, però no som presoners del pas-sat, ans al contrari. El catalanisme com a idea és, per sobre de tot, una conquesta obstinada del futur. És mirant sempre

endavant que hem esdevingut una història d'èxit a Europa, "un miracle" per dir-ho en paraules de l'historiador Josep Termes.

Amb aquesta idea al cap, l'any 1914, Prat de la Riba posa els fonaments del modern autogovern amb vocació i mentalitat d'Estat. També agafats a aquesta idea, com un naufrag a una fusta, suportem la Guerra Civil i travessem la llarga dictadura de Franco. I gràcies a l'energia d'aquesta idea som protagonistes de la recuperació democràtica l'any 1975. Avui, en aquest 2010 que s'acaba, aquesta idea ha de servir-nos per imaginar nous camins que ens permetin superar les crisis que ens angoixen i el dur bloqueig institucional que patim com a nació. Bo i sabent que el món ha canviat i que alguns interrogants importants de 1914 o de 1975 ja han tingut resposta. Ara sorgeixen noves preguntes, les que són pròpies d'un món global, al qual, com vaig dir l'any 2007, ha d'adaptar-se el catalanisme amb l'esperit crític que exigeix la complexitat que ens envolta. I nosaltres, els catalans i catalanes d'avui, tenim dret a fer preguntes i a rebre respostes clares sobre la nostra llibertat.

Vull proclamar des d'aquí, solemnement, el meu compromís amb aquesta idea de futur i d'esperança que representa Catalunya, una idea que ens pertany a tots, per damunt de partits i creences, orígens i accents. Només amb la dignitat i amb la responsabilitat que conté aquesta idea podem fer allò que ara cal fer. I ho hem de fer tots plegats, des del Govern i des del Parlament, des de les institucions i des de la societat. No és decisiu l'èxit del Govern, sinó l'èxit del conjunt de la societat catalana. O ens en sortim tots plegats, com un sol poble, o tots els esforços seran balders.

El nou Govern, i el seu president, si finalment surto elegit pel Parlament, volem guanyar-nos la credibilitat a base d'explicar la veritat, per dura que sigui.

Des de la política no podem, ni ho hem pas de fer, ocultar, maquillar o desfigurar la realitat en benefici dels missatges. Avui la gent valora més els testimonis que els mestres i, quan valora aquests últims, és perquè són testimonis. Nosaltres volem ser un Govern de paraules, de fets i de paraula. Un Govern que s'explica, que pren decisions, i que compleix. Sense divorci entre l'explicació, els fets i el compliment dels compromisos.

Estic fermament convençut que el nostre país és conscient de les dificultats de tot ordre a les quals haurem de plantar cara i sé que no se'ns demanen ni miracles ni solucions màgiques, que estan fora del nostre abast. La societat ens demana, però, serietat, responsabilitat, lideratge, cohesió, sentit pràctic, ideals i esperança.

Aprofito la solemnitat d'aquesta sessió d'investidura per fer una crida a la corresponsabilitat i el colideratge de la societat catalana.

El país necessita un bon lideratge polític, però si ho refiéssim tot a aquest lideratge polític no ens en sortirem. Un Govern fort com el que vull presidir necessita una societat forta, dinàmica i amb el coratge necessari per coliderar, per corresponsabilitzar-se, en el camí que hem d'emprendre cap al futur. El Govern ha de fer unes coses i la societat n'ha de fer unes altres, certament, i el país necessita la col·laboració entre ambdues esferes i que les iniciatives sorgides de la societat civil siguin animades i potenciades, més que no pas entorpidides, per l'Administració. Catalunya ha sobreviscut perquè la societat, sovint sense institucions pròpies o amb els poders en contra, s'ha sabut dotar d'instruments efectius per desenvolupar-se en tots els terrenys. Aquesta societat ha de posar les seves millors energies al servei del repte col·lectiu d'aixecar Catalunya, sense por al fracàs o al judici públic desfavorable. És hora de tancar les pors i fer aflorar

el coratge, perquè Catalunya necessita les millors contribucions de la seva societat.

Aquesta crida que faig al compromís i a la responsabilitat també descansa en un deure moral. Tothom qui tingui un determinat talent, una qualitat específica, una experiència acumulada, pot posar-lo al servei del país. No és el moment de mirar què fa el nostre veí pel país, sinó què podem fer cadascun de nosaltres per Catalunya.

Vivim temps decisius per al futur de Catalunya, i probablement les decisions que prenguem ara marcaran el rumb del país durant temps més llargs que els que dura una sola legislatura. Tots estem cridats a posar el nostre gra de sorra per aixecar Catalunya, i enlairar el seu esperit i el seu exemple en aquests temps difícils. Tots tenim dret a participar de l'obra col·lectiva que suposa construir un país. Però, les persones a les quals la vida els ha portat a tenir més talent o més capacitat no només tenen el dret, sinó també el deure, de retornar a la societat una part del que n'han rebut. I sobretot en moments en què Catalunya necessita aquests talents i aquestes capacitats.

Acabo amb una reflexió més de caire personal. Recordo que, en una discussió parlamentària a l'inici de la legislatura anterior, el president José Montilla em va recordar que ell havia arribat a la Presidència de la Generalitat al primer intent. És evident que no és el meu cas. Tanmateix, la vida t'ensenya que els fracassos i els èxits són relatius. Amb la perspectiva dels anys, els he de dir que mai em vaig sentir un fracassat amb la derrota; però que tampoc ara em sento un guanyador amb la victòria. Arribo a aquesta etapa de la meua vida lleuger d'equipatge, però a l'hora carregat d'il·lusió per poder fer, durant un temps limitat, un bon servei a Catalunya. I continuar així escrivint algunes pàgines més de la història de Catalunya, un país que ha cregut i creu prou

en si mateix per mantenir-se dempeus entre les nacions amb més tradició del món, com ho demostra la mateixa institució de la Generalitat, de la qual, després de més de sis-cents cinquanta anys d'existència, aspiro a ser-ne el cent vint-i-novè president, si vostès m'atorguen la seva confiança.

Visca Catalunya!

**Discurs d'investidura del diputat
H. Sr. Artur Mas i Gavarró,
candidat proposat a la Presidència
de la Generalitat de Catalunya**

PARLAMENT DE CATALUNYA
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Discurs del president de la Generalitat, Artur Mas, en l'acte de presa de possessió

Molt Honorable President José Montilla; Molt Honorable Presidenta del Parlament; Excel·lentíssim Senyor Vicepresident del Govern; membres del Govern; president Jordi Pujol; autoritats, senyores i senyors, amigues i amics.

Voldria que les meves primeres paraules fossin d'agraïment al president José Montilla. Per allò que en podríem dir l'impecable traspàs de poders que s'està produint entre el govern anterior i el nou govern, entre els dos presidents, que és un signe, com ell mateix deia en la seva intervenció, no només de continuïtat, sinó a més a més de plena normalitat institucional, en un moment en què, a més a més, el nostre país necessita aquest tipus de gestos de continuïtat i de normalitat. Per tant, gràcies president José Montilla per aquesta actitud que també és una actitud de servei aquests dies al nostre país.

De tant en tant, els millors somnis d'una persona es fan realitat. I aquest és el meu cas. I per tant, en aquest sentit, podria dir que em sento un privilegiat. De fet, si repasso una mica la meva pròpia trajectòria, i disculpin que avui parli de mi, però, avui, poc o molt -com diria el president Jordi Pujol-, toca parlar també una mica dels meus sentiments en aquest moment en què assumeixo la presidència del país. Si repasso una mica la meva trajectòria, crec poder dir que a la meva vida he fet dues coses realment importants, d'aquelles que deixen marca, que deixen petjada. Una, 30 anys enrere, va ser conèixer l'Helena, la meva dona, després m'hi vaig casar i vaig tenir tres fills. L'altra, ha estat esdevenir president del meu país, president de Catalunya.

Moltes persones, aquests darrers dies, m'han preguntat com em sentia. Us he de confessar que una mica atabalat perquè les circumstàncies són les que són i la pressió d'aquests dies i la intensitat d'aquestes setmanes ha estat molt gran. Però em sento també molt agraït a moltíssima gent, no només a la gent que ha estat al meu costat durant aquests darrers anys, sinó també a la gent que, per altres circumstàncies, han tingut altres opcions, que han estat adversaris nostres, però que entre tots hem aconseguit que la política a casa nostra, que la política catalana, es conduís per uns camins, com deia el president Montilla, de normalitat. I, a més a més, crec poder dir que d'educació i de sentit, en general, positiu. Sempre hi ha excepcions, però crec poder dir que això ha estat d'aquesta manera i això també és un orgull.

Per tant, em sento molt agraït a moltíssima gent. No els puc esmentar a tots, però sabeu, perquè ho he dit moltes vegades, que el sentiment principal que tinc en aquests moments és d'agraïment a tanta i tanta gent que ha estat al nostre costat.

Si m'ho permeteu, també em sento en pau amb mi mateix, perquè quan una cosa costa molt i hi has de dedicar grans esforços i grans energies, també a nivell personal, i quan assoleixes aquell repte, quan hi arribes, aleshores sents una espècie de pau, de tranquil·litat interior. I jo ara la sento plenament. I també sento que estic en deute amb aquest pòsit de confiança que tanta i tanta gent ha dipositat en nosaltres. Estic en deute amb el meu país perquè m'ha fet el gran honor de poder-lo representar des de la màxima institució. I en aquest moment que em sento en deute sé que tinc molts més deures per complir que no pas drets per reclamar. Ho sento així. Fins i tot agafant una mica el fil del que deia el president Montilla, sento que en aquest moment tinc moltes més ganes de servir a Catalunya, al poble de Catalunya, a les catalanes i catalans, als set milions i mig de persones que conformen aquest país nostre, que no pas de ser servit.

Ara farà deu anys, el gener del 2011, que el president Jordi Pujol em va atorgar la seva confiança nomenant-me en aquell moment conseller de la Presidència i conseller en Cap del Govern de Catalunya. Jo tenia en aquella època el despatx molt a prop d'aquí, en aquest mateix saló, i per tant aquest saló l'he creuat moltíssimes vegades. Però deixeu-me dir que jo en aquest moment no sento que retorno, sento que arribo, que és un sentiment diferent. No retorno a un lloc que vaig trepitjar moltes vegades i on vaig passar moltes hores. Sinó que arribo. I arribo amb un bagatge personal que he de dir que no tenia quan ho vaig intentar, quan vaig intentar assolir la presidència de la Generalitat de Catalunya per primera vegada, l'any 2003.

Recordo que en l'acte de presa de possessió del president Pasqual Maragall com a president de la Generalitat ell va dir que havia creuat la plaça. Ell, que havia estat 15 anys alcalde de Barcelona, forjador també dels grans Jocs Olímpics, va dir en aquest mateix saló: jo he creuat la plaça. Bé, jo per arribar a la presidència de Catalunya he creuat Catalunya moltes vegades. L'he creuada de Llevant a Ponent, de Tramuntana a Migjorn, l'he trepitjada, l'he coneguda a fons, podríem dir fins i tot que l'he respirada, l'he tocada. He tocat el nostre país. Si em permeteu una expressió molt col·loquial, fins i tot podria dir que l'he mamat aquest país durant tots aquests anys. I amb una gran intensitat, i amb tota la proximitat de la qual he estat capaç. I per això avui puc dir que, una vegada creuat aquest país tantes vegades, una vegada respirat amb la gent, amb el patiment i també amb les il·lusions i esperances de la gent, no només dono per bona tota aquesta experiència d'aquests anys, sinó que a més a més l'agraeixo. Perquè puc exercir, ho dic amb tota la modèstia, crec que en aquest moment puc exercir la presidència de Catalunya millor que no pas ho podia haver fet uns anys enrere.

Sé que arribo en un moment molt delicat, en sóc plenament conscient. El país, com tots sabem, està farcit de problemes, dificultats que s'amunteguen sobre la taula i sobre totes les taules. Hi ha por entre molta gent, o fins i tot pors, en plural, hi ha confusió, hi ha gran interrogants. Hi ha la sensació que els problemes són més grans que no pas les solucions que podem arribar a oferir. Jo faig front a aquesta situació d'un país farcit de problemes amb aquell lema que figura en una roda de timó de vaixell que em va regalar un modelista naval de Premià de Mar un temps enrere, i que en la seva inscripció diu: "Cap fred, cor calent, puny ferm i peus a terra". Faig front a aquesta singladura amb aquesta actitud.

I sé que aquest és un país que està farcit de problemes, però també està ple d'esperances. I ara ens toca a tots plegats, al Govern, al president al capdavant, però a tots plegats en definitiva, i no només a la gent que estem a les institucions i a la política, ens toca a tota la societat catalana, a tot el poble de Catalunya, posar el nostre país en marxa. Mobilitzar energies, persones, projectes, actius de tota mena, que en tenim i molts. I no tenir por i posar l'èmfasi probablement en aquests propers temps més en l'exercici dels deures que no pas en la reclamació dels drets. Començant per allò que jo explicaré tantes vegades com pugui, que és exercir el deure moral que cadascú té en aquest país. Que cadascú que té capacitats pròpies, que té idees, que té experiència, qualsevol persona que tingui alguna cosa per aportar, té el deure moral de posar-la en aquest moment sobre la taula del país i al servei de Catalunya.

Per acabar, deixeu-me dir que jo formo part d'una generació que gairebé tota la seva vida adulta l'ha viscut en democràcia. Vaig votar per primer cop als 21 anys, el 1977, i des d'aleshores hem pogut anar votant successivament en tot tipus d'eleccions. He vist com els presidents i els governs els posava i els treia la gent, els canviava el poble, i no pas la biologia, o la insurrecció, o la revolució, o la força de les armes. No em sento per tant allò que en podríem dir un resistent, tampoc em sento un alliberador. Em sento un constructor de Catalunya, del meu país, un constructor de la nació catalana. I crec que, si coneixem una mica la història de Catalunya, ens adonarem que la construcció nacional del nostre país no és una feina per impacients. És una feina que requereix, fins i tot la plenitud nacional de

Catalunya a la qual molts aspirem, jo mateix també, requereix l'esforç constant de la dedicació permanent, de l'entusiasme, de la il·lusió, de salvar obstacles, de no donar mai res absolutament per perdut. La història ens ho ensenya. La vida institucional d'un president és qüestió d'anys; la vida de les persones acostuma a ser qüestió de dècades; la vida dels estats, en el millor dels casos, de segles, perquè els estats no deixen de ser construccions artificials, però la vida dels pobles, de les nacions, de les cultures, aquesta no es mesura ni en anys ni en dècades ni moltes vegades en segles, sinó que es pot mesurar en mil·lennis. I jo, senyores i senyors, amigues i amics, en sento com una baula més d'aquella cadena, d'aquell engranatge que va començar fa més de mil anys, que ha de continuar durant molt més anys i que, com deia abans el president Montilla, en aquesta baula, en aquesta cadena, en aquest engranatge, els que hi passem, fins i tot els que assumim les principals responsabilitats, el que hem de fer és sentir-nos sempre humils servidors d'aquest país que és el nostre.

30/12/2011 | Barcelona

Missatge institucional del president de la Generalitat amb motiu del Cap d'Any

Benvolgudes i benvolguts compatriotes,

S'acaba un any, n'encetem un de nou. Permeteu-me, doncs, que les meves primeres paraules siguin per transmetre a tot el poble de Catalunya els millors desitjos per a l'Any 2012, a punt de començar.

Tanmateix, voldria que els meus primers pensaments, i el meu record, fossin per a totes aquelles famílies que durant l'any que acomiadem han patit les inclemències i els embats més durs de la vida. La pèrdua d'un ésser estimat, la malaltia persistent, el dolor, la solitud no desitjada, la pobresa, la discapacitat extrema, la pèrdua de la feina o de la casa, i sovint fins i tot de l'esperança. A tots ells, sense excepció, el meu escalf, la meva estima, tot el meu afecte. Qui pateix alguna d'aquestes circumstàncies, pot entendre millor el patiment dels altres.

Ara fa just un any, quan vaig assumir la presidència del nostre país, us deia que el 2011 seria un any de molta exigència, un any difícil per a moltes persones. També us deia, però, que no hem de tenir por, perquè vivim en un país, som d'un país, Catalunya, que té moltes i molt bones possibilitats d'anar bé.

Pot semblar, envoltats com estem d'una boira espessa, que no tornaran els dies clars i lluminosos. Que costarà de tornar a veure la silueta del benestar i de la prosperitat. És lògic i humà sentir-se així, perquè enmig de la boira et trobes desorientat, perdut, fins i tot angoixat. Tanmateix, repeteixo el que he dit: no hem de tenir por. La boira s'anirà fent més fina, s'obriran esclatxes i clarianes i veurem finalment el perfil de l'horitzó. Un horitzó que volem net i clar, i compartit pels 7,5 milions de persones que donen sentit a la Catalunya del present.

Des del primer dia, vaig dir que no amagaríem la realitat, que explicaríem la veritat, encara que fos dura, conscient que la societat catalana té un alt grau de maduresa i que no vol ser enganyada sinó cridada a un esforç col·lectiu. També vaig dir que fariem front als problemes, per grans que fossin, sense por a ser criticats i escridassats. Que actuaríem sense concessions al populisme, pensant més en les futures generacions que en les properes eleccions, defensant més el bé comú que l'interès individual, corporatiu o partidista.

Passat un any, vull dir-vos que el que estem fent té un sentit. Té un sentit gran. La política d'austeritat, de rigor, de serietat, de fer els deures, d'enterrar l'economia especulativa, de saber que els deutes tenen un límit, de no estirar més el braç que la màniga, tot això té un sentit. El sentit de retrobar-nos amb els valors, principis i actituds que han convertit un país geogràficament i demogràficament petit com Catalunya en un gran país pel seu talent, la seva creativitat, el seu humanisme i la seva capacitat d'esdevenir un bon referent.

Arrosseguem quatre anys de dificultats creixents. Però no ens equivoquem: anys difícils no vol dir anys perduts. Serien perduts si en el camí acabéssim defallint o claudicant, per cansament, per comoditat o per falta d'esma.

Però seran anys guanyats si en traiem les lliçons oportunes: que el compliment dels deures és tan important com la consecució dels drets; que la riquesa que perdura és la que es construeix sobre la base de la feina ben feta al llarg dels anys; que la justícia social no és una ideologia de dretes o d'esquerres sinó un imperatiu moral que a tots ens pertoca defensar; que l'estat del benestar no és un regal dels governs sinó una conquesta de la societat, i que se'l posa en perill quan per agradar o per quedar bé se'n menyspreen els seus límits i la seva sostenibilitat;



**Generalitat
de Catalunya**

que el concepte del nosaltres, és a dir de la col·lectivitat, és tan important com el concepte del jo, és a dir, de l'individu. Si d'aquests anys n'aprenem aquestes lliçons, i les practiquem, serem molt més forts en el futur.

Sé que en el camí que estem seguint es cometten errors. El Govern tampoc no n'està lliure. És cert que quan pilotes un vaixell amb la mar calma i el vent de popa, els errors es noten menys; amb la mar embravida i onades altes que vénen per tots els costats, els errors es noten més. Però ni tan sols aquestes condicions duríssimes i sense precedents poden servir d'excusa per no reconèixer els errors. Els errors són errors, i punt. I el pitjor de l'error no és cometre'l sinó negar-se a reconèixer-lo per excés d'orgull o de supèrbia, i no tenir propòsit d'esmena.

Tots intuïm, i molts sabem, que l'any 2012 serà dur. No ens podem fer trampes al solitari dibuixant un any de color de rosa que a hores d'ara no s'albira. Pel que depèn de nosaltres, seguirem el camí traçat. He dit abans que el que estem fent té un sentit en el qual creiem fermament. Hi ha decisions, però, que no depenen de nosaltres i que són vitals per recuperar la visió de l'horitzó i deixar la boira enrere. Les autoritats europees i els líders de la Unió Europea han de donar senyals inequívocs que creuen en Europa, en el seu futur, en els seus valors. Fins ara no ha sigut del tot així. Per un país com Catalunya, de fons europees que s'endinsen dotze segles enrere en l'imperi de Carlemany, l'aposta europea és indissociable de la nostra identitat mil·lenària. Ser catalans, i mediterranis, és la nostra manera de ser europeus.

També el nou Govern espanyol és responsable d'una sèrie de decisions que ens afecten com a catalans. Li demanem coratge, li desitgem encerts i li reclamem respecte cap a Catalunya i autèntic sentit d'Estat. Catalunya vol veure respectada la seva identitat, les seves institucions, la seva cultura, el seu dret i la seva llengua. També volem, però, que es respectin i no es limitin o retallin les nostres capacitats com a país: la nostra creació de riquesa, el nostre esforç col·lectiu, la nostra creativitat, el nostre talent.

En aquest sentit d'aprofitar totes les nostres capacitats com a país i com a societat, espero, desitjo i confio que l'any 2012 el Parlament de Catalunya formuli la proposta del pacte fiscal, amb el màxim consens polític possible, com a reflex del gran consens social existent sobre aquesta matèria. Confio que tothom, des de l'esfera pública o la privada, sabrà estar a l'altura de les circumstàncies que Catalunya necessita i mereix.

Si la proposta de pacte fiscal és escoltada i atesa, els ponts entre Catalunya i l'Estat es reforçaran. En cas contrari, encara es debilitaran més.

Acabo dient-vos que l'Any Nou haurà de combinar exigència i esperança. Tenim dret a tenir esperança. I en tenim necessitat. Molta necessitat. Tots plegats. Una part molt important d'aquesta esperança la baso en tres qualitats que el nostre poble està demostrant a bastament en aquesta època tan punyent i colpidora: la seva maduresa, entenent que els sacrificis i les renúncies d'avui són la llavor dels fruits del demà; la seva creativitat, sabent que els països petits han de fer les coses millor que els altres per sobreviure i destacar; i la seva bondat, comproment-se amb totes les causes destinades a fer costat a les persones més desvalgudes o amb necessitats més grans o més urgents. Aquesta bondat inherent del poble català és un immens motiu d'esperança.

El nostre país està a prova des de molts punts de vista. Estic convençut que superarem aquesta prova, per grans que siguin els entrebancs.

A tots, sense excepció, us desitjo de tot cor, com a President de Catalunya, un bon Any Nou en companyia de les vostres famílies i dels vostres amics.

Visca Catalunya!



Intervenció del president de la Generalitat després de la reunió amb el president espanyol Mariano Rajoy

Madrid, 20 de setembre de 2012

Breument i sobretot sintèticament, abans d'entrar en el tema de fons que era el pacte fiscal, que és la part més significativa, més important i també més transcendent de la trobada d'avui, voldria fer notar que hi havia dos altres temes que li he posat sobre la taula al president del Govern i que crec que tenen la seva importància i que van lligats entre ells. Un és el tema de la tresoreria general, la liquiditat, fins a quin punt les administracions públiques (les locals, les autonòmiques, la central) poden disposar dels recursos necessaris perquè els pagaments siguin el més normalitzats possibles. Aquest és un gran tema que fa patir molt en el dia a dia, que provoca moltes conseqüències negatives de màxima si no es pot fer correctament i, per tant, és una tema de màxima preocupació per a tots plegats. Em consta que no només pel govern de la Generalitat, sinó també per als governs autonòmics en general i altres CCAA i també per al Govern espanyol.

El tema ha sortit amb tota la seva consistència en aquesta trobada, juntament amb com es reparteixen els esforços al conjunt de l'Estat per anar complir amb els dèficits pactats amb la Unió Europea i amb la zona Euro. La meva teoria, que li he expressat al president Rajoy, és que l'esforç del Govern central quant a reducció de despesa és inferior al que s'obliga a fer als governs autonòmics en general i al de Catalunya en particular. Li he posat un exemple molt gràfic: si Espanya a dintre de la UE estava en una situació pitjor que d'altres països per complir el dèficit i se li ha donat més temps, com pot ser que a dintre d'Espanya a les autonomies que estaven en un punt de partida pitjor no se'ls doni també més temps, igual que se li dona a Espanya per anar complint aquests dèficits?. Això és una situació clarament injusta. Ja sé que en aquest sentit hi poden haver crítiques de com s'havien fet les coses en un lloc o en un altre, però és evident que si volem anar cap al camí obligat a la UE i la zona Euro d'anar reduint els dèficits i de complir els objectius els esforços a dintre l'Estat espanyol per equilibrar qui fa què, per anar conjuntant aquests esforços, han de ser justos i equilibrats, basats en una certa lleialtat institucional. I el meu criteri és que en aquest moment es demana molt més esforços a les CCAA, que vol dir a la sanitat, a l'educació i als serveis socials, que el que es demana al mateix Estat central. Això hem d'intentar equilibrar-ho perquè, no només no és just, sinó que provoca una sèrie de tensions sobre els serveis bàsics per a la ciutadania que amb un repartiment més just al conjunt de l'Estat espanyol es podrien evitar. Li he fet entendre al president Rajoy que aquest és un tema central per mi a la conferència de presidents del dia 2 d'octubre.



Els volen fer una conferència de presidents el proper dia 2 d'octubre, presidida pel president Rajoy, i jo li he avançat que des del Govern de Catalunya jo plantejaré aquests temes de tresoreria i de reducció de dèficits per intentar arribar a un escenari de repartiment més just d'aquests sacrificis que s'han de fer entre l'Estat central per un costat i les autonomies en general i en el nostre cas en particular.

En aquesta part de la reunió no hi ha hagut resultats concrets, però jo diria que la música general no és dolenta, en el sentit que com a mínim el president Rajoy ha dit que ho estudiaria a fons i que entenia algunes de les raons que jo li exposava i, per tant, que hi havia marge per parlar d'això en els propers dies i setmanes. Veurem, però com a mínim he vist un interès per entendre que les nostres posicions acaben sumant en benefici del conjunt de l'Estat, perquè si Espanya queda malament en el seu conjunt tampoc li interessa. A Espanya li interessa quedar el millor possible en l'escena europea, en l'escena internacional i a la zona euro.

L'altra part de la reunió, que era la substancial, era el pacte fiscal. Aquest era el tema gran; els altres eren importants, però aquest era el tema gran i transcendent.

Jo els faré un resum molt gràfic de com ha anat tot això: Jo vaig assumir la presidència del Govern de Catalunya, la presidència del nostre país, de Catalunya, i des del primer dia vaig fer el propòsit d'explicar la veritat. I crec que en aquest moment és molt important que des dels governs i des de les persones que tenen o tenim posicions públiques es digui la veritat, perquè és l'única manera d'entendre's i l'única manera de tenir la credibilitat suficient per poder fer coses que a vegades no són agradables, però que si la gent sap que estan basades en la veritat i en la transparència, encara que no agradin, es poden arribar a acceptar. Aquest va ser el meu codi de conducta des del primer dia de la presidència.

Avui seré fidel a aquesta forma de fer, de pensar i d'actuar. I, per tant, el que els he de dir sobre aquesta altra part del pacte fiscal, que era el gran tema de la reunió d'avui, és que això no ha anat bé. No ha anat bé i no ho dic content; ho dic més aviat trist, perquè creia que era important que això anés bé. Creia que era important per a la relació entre Catalunya i el conjunt de l'Estat i per al futur comú de tot plegat. Era important que des de la presidència del Govern espanyol s'obris una porta clara a poder parlar a fons del pacte fiscal i poder parlar a fons d'una aspiració que a Catalunya és amplíssimament compartida per la societat catalana. I que no és només un tema de diners, sinó que és un tema de poder tenir un estatus diferent al conjunt de l'Estat i més d'acord amb la nostra personalitat política i amb la nostra identitat com a país.



El sistema autonòmic va néixer perquè s'havia de resoldre un problema que era Catalunya i un altre problema que era el País Basc, fonamentalment per això, va néixer per això. I més de 30 anys després els que estan més insatisfets amb aquest sistema autonòmic són aquells que finalment tenien un motiu clar perquè es creés una autonomia en el conjunt de l'Estat.

El pacte fiscal era un dels darrers intents per intentar que s'entengués que les aspiracions d'autogovern de Catalunya, a part dels recursos econòmics, d'alguna manera han de ser ateses, que se n'ha de poder parlar, que s'ha de poder negociar, que s'ha de poder avançar sobre fórmules que no siguin exactament igual que en els darrers 30 anys, perquè les coses canvien i la pròpia opinió pública està canviant. I, per tant, el que preteníem era poder parlar sobre aquestes coses: d'aquestes aspiracions d'autogovern i també del tema dels recursos autonòmics, amb aquesta perspectiva nova. I li vàrem dir pacte fiscal perquè s'entengués que la nostra voluntat era de pacte, si no no li hauríem dit pacte fiscal, li hauríem dit una altra cosa. La nostra voluntat era d'entendre'ns i que se'ns escoltés, i que ens poguéssim entendre, que poguéssim avançar i que es pogués arribar a satisfer aquestes aspiracions catalanes quant a la sobirania fiscal. Són aspiracions amplíssimament compartides per part de gairebé tots els partits, però sobretot per part de gairebé tota la societat. Tenim un índex d'acceptació del 75-80% de la societat catalana i no és poca cosa. És gairebé una gran unanimitat, no arriba a una unanimitat total, però s'hi apropa.

La resposta del president espanyol ha estat franca. He de dir que la reunió en el tracte personal ha estat cordial. I moltes vegades he dit que amb el president Rajoy encara que vulguis no t'hi pots barallar, perquè és un home agradable i de tracte afable i jo també ho procuro ser. Per tant, en aquest terreny més del tracte personal no hi ha res a dir.

Però la resposta del president Rajoy ha sigut molt, molt franca, ha dit que no hi havia marge per negociar el pacte fiscal de Catalunya, que el Govern no tenia marge i que ell intuïa que els partits d'àmbit estatal tampoc s'hi posarien bé, tampoc serien propicis en aquesta negociació del pacte fiscal.

Per molt que tu busquis una cosa, si a l'altre costat no hi ha marge -com se m'ha dit avui- entestar-se que aquest és el camí seria una gran ingenuïtat i crec que un gran error. I, per tant, constatant que avui això no ha anat sent conseqüent amb la veritat, és evident que a Catalunya caldrà fer una reflexió a fons, que farem els propers dies, no caldrà esperar gaires setmanes. Aquesta mateixa setmana, els dies 25, 26 i 27, dimarts, dimecres i dijous, tenim un debat solemne al Parlament de Catalunya, que és el debat de política general, on es fa balanç de l'any i una mica la prospectiva dels propers temps. Allà espero que hi hagi una reflexió serena i positiva de totes les



forces polítiques catalanes, no una reacció de greuge o de victimisme, res de tot això; una discussió serena i positiva, però també una discussió i un debat propi a l'altura de les circumstàncies que està vivint el nostre país, Catalunya.

I a partir del debat que es faci al Parlament de Catalunya la setmana que ve crec que caldrà prendre decisions. Vostès em preguntaran avui quines decisions i jo ja els avanço que no els podré contestar avui, perquè entenc que el moment de fer el debat a fons és al si del Parlament de Catalunya. La situació és prou delicada i no mereix ni requereix cap tipus d'improvisació. S'ha de pensar bé, hi ha d'haver aquesta reflexió a fons i ha de ser una reflexió compartida, on cadascú ha de prendre les seves decisions i jo com a president del país també. Si m'hagués trobat l'escenari que avui hagués sigut que avui no pot ser, però hi ha una porta oberta clara perquè en pocs mesos aquest tema del pacte fiscal es pugui resoldre, jo m'hi hauria posat. Venia amb un marge i una actitud suficientment constructiva i entenent la situació del conjunt de l'Estat espanyol en aquests moments com per saber que no podia haver-hi resultats avui mateix, però com que m'he trobat que ni avui, ni d'aquí a 15 dies, ni d'aquí a tres mesos, ni d'aquí a quatre, que la resposta és no, no hi ha marge per negociar això, en aquestes condicions no podem anar picant el cap contra la paret perquè simplement ens fariem mal. No té cap sentit anar insistint en un camí que per l'altra banda és un camí que està tancat.

El president Rajoy m'ha dit, per explicar-ho tot, que sí que hi havia una porta oberta perquè el 2013 es pogués seguir parlant de com es millora el sistema de finançament actual, el del règim comú. Això és una cosa que ja vindrà i quan arribi ja veurem què dóna de si, però és evident que amb una millora simplement del sistema dels últims 30 anys Catalunya no pot en aquest moment cobrir, ni de bon tros, les seves aspiracions com a país, com a societat i com a poble. I, per tant, entenc que aquest és un camí ordinari, que tocarà quan arribi el moment, ja se'n parlarà, però no és el tema que plantejava Catalunya, ni cobreix- insisteixo- els objectius que es plantejava Catalunya, ni respon al neguit de la societat catalana a la preocupació, als anhels i a les il·lusions d'una gran part del poble de Catalunya. Per tant, com que les coses estan així, escolteu, debat a Catalunya, reflexió serena, reflexió positiva, mirar cap endavant i decisions. I les decisions a partir, concretament, de la setmana que ve.

Catalunya ha fet esforços immensos i molt sincers durant més de 30 anys perquè totes les coses que fossin d'interès general espanyol anessin cap endavant, pensant que una Espanya que agafés més confiança en si mateixa, que fos més europea - com és en part-, que estigués dins d'una moneda comuna com l'euro, que hagués vençut al terrorisme, que fos de cultura democràtica, una Espanya que hagués construït el seu estat del benestar, -com ha pogut fer-ho bastant en aquestes últimes dècades-, una Espanya on hi hagués mentalitat de capacitat productiva i de



generació de riquesa. Sempre havíem pensat que una Espanya així seria una Espanya que entendria amablement i respectuosament les aspiracions d'un poble com el català que es considera a si mateix nació per una àmplia majoria de la seva pròpia ciutadania. Entenc que això no és així i, per tant, se'ns ofereix només l'anar tirant en el dia a dia, però no poder plantejar temes de gran envergadura com ho és el del pacte fiscal. Per tant, crec que s'ha perdut una oportunitat històrica, però la vida és així i s'ha de veure les parts bones de tot això i, sobretot, el que no podem és deixar-nos instal·lar en el nostre propi ànim col·lectiu una sensació d'impotència, o que el futur és avui més gris del que era ahir... això no té per què ser així. Estic convençut que a Catalunya es poden trobar solucions, es poden trobar camins àmpliament compartits o majoritàriament compartits per la societat catalana i es poden engendrar projectes de futur i també es poden impulsar. I crec que la setmana vinent serà a Catalunya una setmana important, potser també transcendent per definir aquestes opcions de futur. Aquestes opcions de futur per part nostra sempre seran respectuoses, sempre tindran un to positiu i mai pretendran el fet que no hi hagi cap tipus d'entesa entre Catalunya i la resta d'Espanya. Sempre he dit que sigui quin sigui el camí que afronti Catalunya aquests propers temps ha de ser un camí europeu, naturalment- i un camí on els ponts de diàleg i de fer coses en comú dintre de l'Estat espanyol o amb l'Estat espanyol siguin ponts que sempre es puguin mantenir de peu i oberts. I aquesta, com a mínim, serà la nostra actitud i la nostra reacció diguin el que diguin altres, ja ho adverteixo des del principi. Per molt que es menyspreï, per molt que es portin les coses al límit, per molt que es treguin les coses de mare, jo procuraré que l'actitud de Catalunya sigui una actitud en tot moment respectuosa i constructiva.



Missatge institucional del president de la Generalitat amb motiu de la Diada Nacional de Catalunya

Benvolgudes i benvolguts compatriotes,

Celebrem la Diada Nacional d'enguany immersos en un clima de dificultats econòmiques i socials creixents, amb una duresa gairebé sense precedents des de la recuperació de la democràcia i de l'autogovern, fa més de trenta anys. La crisi que patim, i que colpeja molts conciutadans nostres, sovint de manera punyent, es fa llarga i és més profunda del que es podia preveure. Són situacions que no agraden a ningú, amb les quals ningú es pot sentir confortable, i que en la mesura que no es trien sinó que te les trobes només deixen un camí: fer-hi front i plantar cara. I deixar clar que per dura i llarga que sigui l'època d'adversitat que ens toca viure, li donarem la volta, la superarem i la deixarem enrere.

I recordarem, tant de bo durant generacions, les causes i errors que ens hi varen portar i les lliçons que n'estem aprenent.

El present que estem vivint ens posa constantment a prova, tant individualment com col·lectivament. Com a persones i com a poble. Posa a prova la nostra resistència, el nostre esperit de superació, la



nostra imaginació, la nostra creativitat, la nostra empenta, el nostre model econòmic, el nostre model d'estat del benestar, la nostra generositat, el nostre sentit del bé comú i el nostre patriotisme. Tot això està a prova, i no és pas poca cosa.

Quan la llosa que tenim a sobre pesa tant, podem caure en el fatalisme o en la desesperança. És humà, però no ens convé. Cal lluitar, aferrissadament i sense treva, contra qualsevol sentiment de desànim o de defalliment que es pugui instal·lar en la nostra societat.

Per aconseguir-ho, us proposo tres mirades diferents, i complementàries.

La primera, cap enrere, cap a la nostra història. Veureu que malgrat algunes derrotes, que en algun moment podien semblar definitives, Catalunya mai no va ser, ni es va comportar, com un poble vençut. En els viaranyes de la nostra història hi trobareu sempre motius d'esperança.

La segona mirada és cap al nostre costat, cap al que ens envolta, cap al present. Veureu molts exemples de persones, de col·lectius i d'entitats que actuen amb gran generositat, amb un altíssim sentit del deure i de la responsabilitat, que fan coses, que ajuden, que es mouen, que es mobilitzen per tota mena de causes nobles; en totes aquestes persones,



que sortosament es compten per milers i milers, hi trobareu també motius d'esperança.

La tercera mirada és cap endavant, cap al futur. Mai com ara Catalunya havia estat tan a prop en la seva aspiració i el seu anhel de plenitud nacional. Cada dia que passa més i més catalanes i catalans s'incorporen al sentiment i al concepte que és a nosaltres, els set milions i mig de persones que configurem la Catalunya d'avui, a qui ens correspon decidir lliurement el nostre futur com a poble i com a nació. També aquest és un sòlid motiu d'esperança.

La transició nacional que la societat catalana està duent a terme té un primer objectiu amplament aglutinador i compartit: el pacte fiscal. El passat mes de juliol, el nostre Parlament va aprovar per folgada majoria la proposta a defensar en les properes setmanes. Així ho farem. És urgent, just i necessari.

El pacte fiscal és l'exemple més evident i socialment més transversal d'aquesta transició nacional. Catalunya té prou energia interna per viure millor del que viu. Produïm prou recursos i prou riquesa per viure millor del que vivim. No hi ha batalla més urgent ni repte més important que la sobirania fiscal del nostre país. I més en aquests moments.



En els darrers temps ha quedat definitivament clar que les legítimes aspiracions nacionals de Catalunya són indestriables del benestar dels seus ciutadans. És per això que la sobirania fiscal és alhora un acte d'afirmació nacional i un acte d'afirmació social, en la mesura que els principals perjudicats pel fet de no tenir-la són les persones individuals i concretes, amb noms i cognoms. Aspirem a més com a nació perquè aspirem a més com a societat, i a l'inrevés.

La falsa contraposició entre les aspiracions nacionals de Catalunya i el benestar dels seus ciutadans ha quedat en evidència. No aspirem a més en unes coses i a menys en unes altres: aspirem a més i prou, perquè volem ser una societat europea com qualsevol altra. La plenitud nacional de Catalunya i el benestar i la cohesió dels seus ciutadans no són elements contradictoris, sinó tot el contrari.

Són temps de decisions difícils. Moltes de les que s'han de prendre no són precisament agradables. Ens movem entre les incerteses i debilitats del projecte europeu, i de l'euro, i la manca de visió i de sentit d'Estat que impera a Espanya, i que impedeix sumar esforços en un moment en el qual aquesta suma esdevé tan decisiva. Europa no acaba de trobar el seu camí, i Espanya s'entesta a desfer el seu. Catalunya es mou enmig d'aquest escenari que no controlem, però que ens condiciona en el dia a dia. Si volem mantenir-nos dempeus enmig d'aquestes fortes turbulències, i no perdre el rumb, el nostre país ha de navegar sabent



que quan l'aigua inunda el vaixell cal treure-la com sigui, si pot ser amb l'esforç de tothom, a canvi de seguir flotant i de poder arribar a bon port, un cop superada la tempesta.

Precisament perquè hem d'estar traient aigua del vaixell de manera constant, demano no només comprensió, sinó compromís i implicació a tothom. La demano, però sobretot l'agraeixo, perquè sóc plenament conscient que gràcies a la tasca de moltes persones sovint anònimes, Catalunya fa front a les dificultats amb gran dignitat i notable eficàcia. No puc, encara, anunciar que li hem donat la volta a la situació, perquè no vull trair la veritat ni enganyar o enganyar-nos. Però segueixo mantenint una fe indestructible en què ens en sortirem, enfortits i amb uns valors més fermes i més sans com a persones i com a poble.

Desitjo de tot cor que tingueu una bona Diada Nacional. D'afirmació i de mobilització, sempre presidits pel civisme i pel respecte a les idees dels altres, encara que no les compartim.

Demà molts compatriotes us manifestareu a Barcelona. El meu cor serà amb vosaltres. El meu esperit i el meu compromís, també. A mi, com a President de Catalunya, em correspon un rol més institucional, sumant afinitats, aglutinant voluntats, preservant sempre que es pugui la unitat del poble català. Tanmateix, encara que sigui en silenci, sapigueu que el vostre clam és el meu, que la vostra veu és la meva, que els vostres



anhels són els meus. Perquè en definitiva, siguin veus pel pacte fiscal, per l'estat propi, pel respecte que mereixem com a nació pacífica i democràtica que som, o per la nostra dignitat, són totes veus que s'alcen en la mateixa direcció: més justícia i més llibertat per a Catalunya!

Cadascú decidirà com vol participar en la Diada. Sigui en els actes institucionals, en els de mobilització al carrer o des d'altres llocs, fem-ho sempre amb esperit de suma, sabent que som i serem observats, deixant sentir la nostra veu, serena i clara, i exhibint i proclamant la fermesa de les nostres conviccions, del nostre compromís i de la nostra estima per Catalunya.

Visca Catalunya!

TRANSCRIPCIÓ EN BRUT DE LA INTERVENCIÓ DEL PRESIDENT DE LA GENERALITAT AL FORO NUEVA ECONOMIA

Madrid, 13 de setembre de 2012

De totes les tribunes que he fet a Madrid aquesta és la més delicada de totes, sobretot per la situació actual. Fins i tot un amic meu em va preguntar si era oportú que vingues. Però jo vaig entendre que era bo mantenir el calendari i el compromís i, a més a més, també hi ha programada l'entrevista amb el president Rajoy pel dia vint i una conferència de presidents autonòmics per començament d'octubre. Així és que no només vinc avui, sinó que vindré més i crec que està bé fer-ho, perquè malgrat que les coses estan com estan i observant-les de prop ja es veu la magnitud del procés a Catalunya i per això és important que puguem parlar jo pugui transmetre com a president de Catalunya les inquietuds a Catalunya i perspectives de cara al proper futur. Procuraré parlar clar i no dir coses diferents a un lloc o a un altre, intentant no ofendre a ningú. S'entendrà més o menys però procuraré que ningú es pugui sentir ofès.

Abans d'abordar el tema de major profunditat, em permetré fer alguns flaixos sobre altres coses. Concretament voldria fer un flaix ràpid sobre la situació econòmica. Hi ha molta gent que es pregunta i ens pregunta si Espanya té actius, motors i capacitat suficients per donar-li la volta a aquesta situació des del punt de vista econòmic i es pot arribar a recuperar un camí per a la creació de riquesa al conjunt estat. Quan m'ho pregunten, acostumo a contestar que sóc dels que penso que sí té actius i capacitat per superar aquesta situació. Si parlés de Catalunya en aquest sentit de la recuperació econòmica no tindria cap dubte; la resposta seria rotundament que sí té capacitat per a la creació de riquesa i òbviament de creació d'ocupació. Si em refereixo al conjunt estat tindria molts pocs dubtes. Crec que Espanya té actius suficients per poder sortir de la situació, no a curt termini, és evident i ja es va veient, però a diferència d'altres llocs a Espanya és diferent, tot i que els passius són superiors als actius. En aquest sentit m'agradaria fer un anàlisi breu: el nostre principal objectiu és donar la volta a la situació de crisi econòmica i aquí és on està posada tota la nostra energia. Si analitzem el que ens ve a sobre els propers mesos i segurament l'any vinent, tothom entén que amb les mesures que s'estan prenent amb el grau de poca confiança a la societat respecte al seu propi futur, és molt difícil que el consum intern ens porti a la recuperació, quan es pugen impostos, gairebé tots, quan es fan retallades a gairebé a tot arreu, quan augment l'atur, quan hi ha menys crèdit, quan hi ha un procés de desendeutament de famílies, empreses, de les administracions etc., quan tot això s'ajunta és molt difícil que a partir d'aquí hi hagi procés de consum intern que en part podria compensar la situació actual.

Què ens queda en aquest termini? L'altra part de la nostra economia, que no ha estat la més brillant amb algunes excepcions, que és la nostra capacitat de ser atractius a l'exterior i que siguin els de fora els que comprant, invertint, consumint etc. ens ajudin a sortir d'aquesta situació tan complicada. Si aquí segurament som més atractius ara que fa un parell d'anys enrere. La prova és que està creixent l'exportació i concretament a Catalunya està creixent bastant i, fins i tot, molt i no d'ara, sinó de fa mesos i anys. I en turisme també està creixent i estem tenint temporades turístiques molt positives. Fins i tot la inversió estrangera està creixent. Aquí tenim a curt termini la possibilitat de recuperació. Tenim precedents prop de nosaltres on la caiguda ha estat més dura perquè no ha existit inversió exterior. En aquesta descripció és on entra Catalunya, perquè si realment és cert que en aquest curt termini tot l'àmbit exterior, que és el que pot tirar de nosaltres, a on hem d'invertir? Doncs, als motors que té l'estat on això és més evident. I a Catalunya és molt evident. Tenim el 6% del territori espanyol, un 16% de la població i un 27% exportacions. I si se suma exportació i importació entre el 27 i el 30%. Entre una quarta part i un terç de tot el sector espanyol passa per

Catalunya o es genera a Catalunya. A partir d'aquí es poden fer altres preguntes. Per tant, és obvi que qualsevol que hagués d'invertir ho faria tenint en compte aquestes condicions. I això des del punt de vista empresarial cal aprofitar-ho. Això és el que està passant a Espanya.

En pocs dies inaugurarem la nova terminal contenidors Barcelona, feta per una empresa xina que invertirà 500 M€ en dos fases. Convertiran el Port de Barcelona en la referència més important del trànsit de contenidors al sud d'Europa. I els accessos per arribar a aquesta terminal són provisionals, malgrat que se'ls havia promès que seria definitiu en el moment de la inauguració. Això no ve d'ara, de la crisi, sinó d'incompliments d'anys enrere. Això demostra fins a quin punt hi ha una dicotomia i una paradoxa entre realitat, les possibilitats i el que està passant.

Catalunya és també la primera potència turística d'Espanya. Espanya és un gran país turístic. I pel que fa a la captació inversió estrangera, no fa gaire va publicar un estudi Ernst Young que resolia Catalunya era en tercer lloc fent un anàlisi de llocs Europa on el 2011 s'havia fet més projectes inversió directa, després de Londres i París, i Madrid era el quart.

També volia fer un flaix sobre les polítiques de contenció del dèficit, perquè es diu que en aquest terreny és on ens hi juguem més, es presenta com avantsala per resoldre els altres problemes que tenim. Quan parlem de polítiques de contenció del dèficit hi ha moltes controvèrsies, que són lògiques per l'estrès al que estant sotmesos molts països, Espanya i Catalunya. Si es vol fer debat seriós, cal preguntar-se si volem o no estar a l'euro. Quan ho preguntes, tothom diu que sí i, aleshores, hi ha unes condicions i unes regles de joc que s'han d'acceptar. I ara estem ficats de ple en aquestes regles de joc i no només nosaltres, fins i tot els que es van presentar fa pocs mesos com a defensors d'aquestes polítiques, a Europa, països molts grans i poderosos dels que compten sí o sí, es van presentar d'una forma i ho estan fent d'una altra i estant fent els més grans ajustaments de la seva història. La mateixa Holanda, que va votar ahir. El govern holandès es va trencar el seu govern perquè no va ser capaç d'aprovar uns pressupostos amb compliment dèficit.

Jo sóc partidari que la política d'austeritat es faci amb un temps raonable, sense que es trenqui la cohesió interna de les societats i això s'ha de preservar. L'eurozona va donant a Espanya aquest temps que es necessita. Enguany Espanya tenia autoritzat un dèficit del 5,3 i va arribar al 6,3. I amb aquest punt de més que ha obtingut significa 10.000 M€. Com es reparteix això entre les administracions perquè tothom tingui temps de fer els deures? Els 10.000 se'ls queda l'administració general de l'estat i quan et preguntes els que gestionem sanitats, serveis públics, a llei de la dependència, la justícia, la policia ...que ens toca d'aquest repartiment? Nosaltres que representem el 35% de la despesa pública i sense les pensions el 50%, se'ns demana tot l'esforç i els altres es queden tot i no reparteixen res. Això és així i funciona d'aquesta forma a Espanya que apareix com a Estat compost on s'hauria de fer un esforç comú per repartir les carregues i sacrificis de manera equitativa i equilibrada.

El Govern central demana temps i se li dona, però quan se li demana temps al Govern central no el dona. El Govern central demana regles suaus, però quan aplica les normes de control són duríssimes i, per tant, això és un tracte novament inequitatiu. Estem en aquesta situació i això provoca enormes recels, perquè o es creu en l'estat autònom i s'actua en conseqüència, amb lleialtat, o sinó cal proposar canviar-lo. Però aquí ningú proposa canviar res i s'actua amb aquesta manifesta deslleialtat que els estava explicant. Si això ho projecten al 2013 encara és pitjor. La desproporció encara és més gran, perquè l'esforç que han de fer les comunitats autònomes per gestionar allò que els he dit és més gran. La desproporció és més gran, amb la qual cosa es posa el sistema en la seva major dificultat de compliment. I tot plegat, al final, actua com un *boomerang*, perquè el Govern espanyol quan es presenta davant les autoritats

comunitàries ho fa representant al conjunt. Per tan, si algú no pot fer els deures restarà en negatiu al conjunt de l'estat. Està clar que es podrà atribuir la culpa a un que no seràs tu mateix, però això al final no serveix per massa. Estem en aquesta situació. I un darrer exemple és el que afecta més directament a Catalunya: aquestes darreres setmanes s'ha presentat Catalunya com aquell territori pidolaire que fa tan malament les coses, que no té més remei que demanar un rescat per refinançar deutes del passat. Però, com pot ser que un país com Catalunya amb un dèficit fiscal de 16.000 M€ amb l'estat cada any, perquè aporta molt més del que rep, hagi d'estar en una situació d'haver de demanar recursos per poder refinançar els deute acumulats i que s'han de refinançar. Això no té cap sentit. Que tinguin dificultats els que no generen suficient recursos per poder-ho fer té sentit, però que les dificultats les tinguin els que generen els recursos i amb molta diferencia no té cap sentit. Des d'una altra òptica: Espanya respecte a Europa és receptora de recursos i, per tan, la dinàmica i la dialèctica entre Europa i Espanya pot ser una, però Catalunya dintre d'Espanya és portadora neta de molts recursos i, per tant, la dialèctica i la dinàmica ha de ser un altra. I és just a l'inrevés. És el món a l'inrevés. Faci'n aquest anàlisi i aleshores entendran també algunes de les coses que estan passant. I com plou sobre mullat i al final, al final la gent diu prou i que això no pot continuar així.

Permeti'n donar la meva anàlisi, que pot estar equivocada, però jo donaré la meva visió com a president de Catalunya. Crec que s'està produint entre Catalunya i Espanya un cert paral·lisme entre el que està passant entre l'Europa nord i l'Europa del sud. L'Europa del nord s'ha cansat de la del sud i la del sud també s'està cansant de la del nord per les seves maneres de fer. Entre Catalunya i Espanya s'ha produït un sentiment de fatiga, que penso que és mútua. Catalunya s'ha cansat de no poder progressar bé com creu que pot fer-ho dins del conjunt de l'estat espanyol i Espanya es cansa de la manera de fer de Catalunya. A Catalunya tenim sensació que s'aporta molt, fins i tot massa, de que s'ajuda tot el que pot i una mica més i de que no se l'entén, ni se la respecta tal com és. I a Espanya hi ha la sensació que Catalunya sempre demana i sempre es queixa. Crec que poc o molt aquesta sensació s'està instal·lant a estaments significatius de la societat espanyol i en comptes de suavitzar-se s'ha anat aprofundit. Montilla fa uns anys va parlar de desafecció a Madrid i ha això ha anat a més. Aquesta és la situació que crec que tenim i cal analitzar-la bé.

De cara als mitjans estrangers presents faré una llista ràpida de coses que han passa. Des de Catalunya tenim la sensació de que defensem la constitució espanyola a finals 70, que vam contribuir amb els pactes de la Moncloa de Fuentes Quintana per relançar i recuperar l'economia de l'estat, que vam ser al costat del rei el 23F, que vam estar sempre ajudant perquè Espanya fes una bona incorporació a CEE, després a l'euro, amb tot el que va significar i sempre que hi havia govern en minoria ajudant-lo, fos PP o PSOE. I a més, si a aquesta llista hi afegim que en temes de terrorisme sempre hem estat al costat del Govern sense matisos ni aprofitaments, sense accents, fins el punt d'arribar a votar una llei que ens va costar votar amb el cor realment partit, però tot i així ho vam fer, i també s'ha de dir que vam estar costat del govern Zapatero i també els primers mesos de Rajoy per assegurar un certs major suport a les polítiques austeritat, en gran part obligades per la nostra pertinença a l'euro. Al costat tenim un sentiment d'invasió competencial per part de tots els governs, els estatuts del 77 i dels 2006 sempre a la baixa, presumint de que es passa el rasclet... Dèficit fiscal inamovible durant 20-30 anys en el 8% de creació de riquesa anual equivalent a 15.000 M€ cada any, no s'ha mogut ni un pel. L'esforç de l'estat en inversió en infraestructures sempre ha estat per sota de la nostra població, no de la nostra aportació al PIB, durant 25-30 anys i quan aconseguim que canviï, amb l'estatut 2006, després s'ha incomplert i ara no se'ns paguen els deutes. Els diferents sistemes de finançament autonòmic sempre han estat per sota de la població, quan es calculen al final en termes reals. I això se li ha d'afegir la sensació de que quan es parla de temes d'identitat, bàsicament de cultura i de llengua, aquí hi ha una falta

d'enteniment o sensibilitat o, fins i tot de menysteniment per part de distintes institucions bàsiques de l'estat realment preocupant, encara més en democràcia i per part de cultures tan consolidades com la catalana i tan actuals, perquè no estem parlant d'un invent, ni d'un constitucionals, estem parlant que està acumulat al llarg de la història 1.000 anys o que es manté en peu i perfectament bé. Quan veuen la primera llista i els grans temes de la 1a i la 2a llista, potser estem equivocats, però algú hauria d'analitzar-lo així per veure què està passant.

Parlem ara de la reacció a Catalunya: Demanaria a Madrid que no cometin el major error que es pot cometre que seria minimitzar el que està passant a Catalunya. No es pensin que és una febre de final d'estiu, que la temperatura baixarà ràpidament, que és un escalfament, que no té major importància. Això pot passar i, de fet, ja està passant, però seria novament un gravíssim error.

Els explicaré què va passar l'1 de setembre a Catalunya: les estadístiques de la GU i la Policia Autònoma parlen de 1,5 M persones, però el que era evident és que hi havia una multitud ingent, pacífica i que el que estava fent era subratllar un projecte propi. No anava contra ningú, no s'insultava, no era un bronca, era subratllar un projecte propi i això en democràcia és el que toca. Perquè ho entenguin, cal imaginar una manifestació a Espanya de 9 M persones. Algú diria que és una febre d'estiu? Aquesta és la proporció, sobre 7,5%, és una cinquena part. Vostès recorden alguna mani a Espanya de 9 M persones de cop? Doncs això és el que va passar. I si això es minimitza serà un altre gravíssim error, perquè la gent no va sortir al carrer per divertir-se, sinó que hi ha un perfil a la població catalana de que per aquest camí no podem continuar i aquest és el missatge que es va donar. Va ser una manifestació tremendament important també des del punt de vista qualitatiu, perquè es pot sortir al carrer per moltes raons, contra les retallades, però no es va sortir per això. Les pancartes no anaven per aquí. El sentiment era que per aquest camí Catalunya no pot continuar i ha de formular un projecte propi.

Jo tinc el mandat Parlament de plantejar pacte fiscal, en la línia de la sobirania fiscal, sense trencar ni tallar la solidaritat. Sempre ho hem plantejat en termes que els càlculs permetin que els corrents de solidaritat es mantinguin, revisant-les però mantenint-les. Revisant-les perquè 30 anys de polítiques de redistribució no han servit perquè el conjunt tingues capacitat homogènia de creació de riquesa. I si això ha estat així, no s'ha de revisar en algun moment? Si durant 30 anys s'han transferit quantitats ingents de recursos entre els que han vingut de dintre i de fora per a determinats territoris, si no han aconseguit estructures productives suficientment àgils i eficaces per assegurar menys dependència de fora segurament és que aquestes polítiques han fallat en algun sentit. Una altra cosa és que s'han homogeneïtzat determinades estructures d'estat de benestar. I aquí té sentit la solidaritat, però també en d'altres i ha de servir per a una altra cosa. A Europa ens diuen que els fons europeus no sempre seran per a nosaltres. I ens diuen que hem tingut temps d'espavilar-nos i fer els deures de manera que ara hauran de ser per a uns altres. I aquest mateix llenguatge que s'escolta a Europa potser ens l'hauríem d'aplicar dins estat.

Per tot plegat plantejarem el Pacte Fiscal. Nosaltres olem ser responsables dels ingressos i gestionar-los. La nostra pretensió es sortir del regim comú de finançament de la LOFCA i pot ser perfectament constitucional, perquè és un tema de voluntat política. Creiem que amb la singularitat de Catalunya no té sentit que estiguem al règim comú i ara és hora de plantejar-se que això pot ser d'una altra manera i, per suposat, volem reduir el nostre dèficit fiscal sense tallar la solidaritat però si amortint-la.

A part del manament del Parlament i ha també hi ha un manament de la població, que no es pot ignorar. A l'inrevés, cal entendre-ho, escoltar-ho i encaixar-lo en el sentit que el pitjor que

pot fer un governant és tallar les ales de la il·lusió d'un poble. Ho vaig dir allà i ho repeteixo aquí: Jo m'identifico amb el clamor popular perquè vista la història de la relació Catalunya-Espanya és lògic que s'estigui produint aquest clamor popular. Jo m'hi identifico amb això havent procurat fer les coses per part nostra que sempre ha intentat buscar l'aproximació, l'acord, la col·laboració, el pacte, el diàleg, el sumar, etc., etc. Sempre, en tot moment., però ara les coses es van decantant. I ara, a base de no mirar o no voler escoltar les coses s'han posat així.

Durant dècades, parlo de dècades, no d'anys sinó de dècades, el nostre objectiu va ser intentar transformar l'estat i ajudar-lo perquè fos també el nostre. Aquest ha estat el nostre objectiu, el de la majoria de la societat catalana, tinguin-ho també en compte. El nostre objectiu ha estat durant dècades transformar l'estat perquè aquest estat d'una manera o d'una altra poguéssim considerar-lo el nostre; que fos un estat amable en el qual Catalunya pogués encaixar bé i pogués anar avançant en les seves aspiracions nacional, en el seu reconeixement i respecte lingüístic i cultural, en el seu progrés econòmic, en la seva modernització, etc., etc. Aquesta ha estat la nostra política.

Ara els demano que els diré no es vegi simplement com uns que pugen al monte, uns que improvisen per improvisar, etc., etc. Fixin-se, si el nostre projecte durant; si el nostre projecte ha estat durant dècades intentar transformar l'estat espanyol perquè fos el nostre i això no és possible, perquè potser Catalunya no té força suficient per aconseguir això, si això és així el que s'ha d'entendre és que Catalunya necessita un estat, Catalunya necessita l'instrument d'un estat, perquè qualsevol nació ho pot arribar a tenir. I Catalunya l'instrument que significa un estat el necessita i crec que aquest és el clamor de la gent al carrer i a més de forma pacífica, democràtica i il·lusionant; necessitem un estat. Havíem pensat durant molt temps que aquest estat podia ser l'espanyol i hem treballat molt perquè això fos així, però potser nosaltres mateixos no hem treballat suficientment bé, o no hem tingut força per aconseguir que això fos d'aquesta manera, però en qualsevol cas Catalunya necessita un instrument d'Estat i crec que aquest és el llenguatge que se'ns està transmetent des del carrer.

Durao Barroso ho deia amb altres paraules fa poques hores, crec que va ser ahir: el futur d'Europa és el dels estats que representen nacions. La última pregunta que ens hem de fer és si al conjunt d'Espanya es pot arribar a acceptar –com és l'estricta realitat- que Catalunya és una nació. Si partim d'aquí hi ha moltes coses que es poden resoldre, però si neguem això, si neguem la pura l'evidència, aleshores hi ha moltes coses que no es poden resoldre. I si no es poden resoldre, entenguin que aleshores un poble que porta molta història al darrere i que té molt xx de present i molt projecte i voluntat de futur i vol resoldre pacíficament i democràticament i de forma estrictament europea aquest futur. I dic de forma estrictament europea, perquè com vostès poden comprendre no ens hem tornat bojós, no hem pujat a la colina i quan els catalans reclamen instruments d'estat ho fan, òbviament, dintre del marc europeu, de la Unió Europea i fins i tot de l'euro, que estem intentant defensar malgrat que les polítiques fer defensar això són polítiques dures i no precisament agraïdes des del punt de vista de la opinió pública en aquests moments.

COL·LOQUI

I ara què? Calendari. Termini per la independència. Data a la independència.

Hi ha preguntes que avui no tindran resposta. En un sol dia no es resoldran totes les incògnites. Quan parlem de terminis, és impossible perquè és un moviment, la transició nacional catalana, que té els seus ritmes. Tota transició té els seus ritmes, els seus moments,

els seus terminis, les seves cadències i els seus punts alts i baixos. Espanya va fer la seva transició cap a la democràcia a finals 70 i hi haver alt i baixos i sotsobres i no es van poder establir uns terminis fixos i concrets, fins i tot en aquell procés de la transició va passar el que va passar l'any 1981, perquè una mica més i tot se'n va en orris. Espanya estava en una transició en la qual gairebé tots vam ajudar. Ara han d'entendre que Catalunya està en una transició interna, que pot evolucionar, però ja es veurà. Les coses han anat d'una manera durant 30 anys i ara hi ha un canvi de rumb. Aquesta és la realitat i s'ha d'entendre.

Es parla de frustració i jo ho entenc, perquè qualsevol operació política de gran nivell pot portar a l'èxit o no. Pensen si no estem ja en aquest estat de frustració. Vostès creuen que se surt al carrer de la forma massiva en que ho van fer els catalans si no hi ha un procés de frustració instal·lat? Està clar que hi és i existeix aquesta frustració. I aquesta frustració et pot portar a no fer res i a acotar el cap o et pot dur en un poble viu amb una realitat viva com el poble català a formular projectes de futur. I estem en aquesta segona part, afortunadament pels catalans, perquè d'altra forma seriem un poble mort frustrat definitivament. Però no som un poble frustrat, sinó a l'inrevés. Per tan, crec que és millor analitzar-ho així.

Pel que fa als terminis, jo tinc el manament de negociar la proposta que va sortir del Parlament català fa dos mesos enrere per amplíssima majoria, és a dir, el pacte fiscal. El pacte fiscal en la línia del concert econòmic no l'hem amagat mai. No ha de ser un sistema de finançament estrictament equivalent a altres i pot tenir la seva singularitat pròpia, però en qualsevol cas el termini més concret és aquest, cosa que no treu que el procés de transició estigui en marxa i s'anirà veient on ens portarà. Aquest procés té unes etapes molt a curt termini: pacte fiscal, concert econòmic, sobirania fiscal i veurem quina resposta i aprofitarem aquesta oportunitat i veurem a partir del 20 de setembre com es van decantant els calendaris d'aquest possible acord en matèria de pacte fiscal. I a partir d'aquí, segons com vagin les coses, la transició agafarà una mica més de ritme o una mica menys, però ja es veurà.

En aquest mateix fòrum el ministra de Finlàndia va deixar clar que la segregació de regions europees no té cabuda en les normes actuals i també sembla poc probable que Durao Barroso inclogués tàcitament a Catalunya com a nació a Catalunya quan ahir va parlar d'aquest tema. Està segur que una Catalunya independent sigui un estat de la UE? El dia després no creu que Catalunya hauria d'emetre la seva pròpia moneda, pagar aranzels i sortir de les institucions europees?

Discutir si Catalunya és una nació o no es pot fer i no hi ha límit. A Espanya s'ha fet algunes vegades aquesta discussió i sempre hem perdut, perquè mai s'ha aconseguit que es reconegués que Catalunya és una nació. Vam estar a punt d'aconseguir alguna cosa en aquesta línia quan es va formular el pacte constitucional quan es va diferenciar entre nacionalitats i regions. Això semblava que era una porta oberta cap el tracte diferenciat, però després la dinàmica espanyola ens va portar pràcticament a la homogeneïtzació, al cafè per tothom. Això ara es diu en privat que va ser un error, però aquesta és la realitat. Al final, com es discuteix si un territori és nació o no? Jo proposaria consultar-ho. Veritat que en democràcia és la forma més directa i clara per saber-ho? Consultem-ho als que pretenen ser nació, i si ho fem potser llavors ens trobaríem amb algunes sorpreses, perquè una part importantíssima de la societat catalana que considera nació a ella mateixa. I si això fos així en democràcia com s'hauria de tractar, donant-li l'espallla, combatent-ho o donant vies d'entesa i de reconeixement? En democràcia s'ha d'escoltar, s'ha d'entendre la realitat, s'ha d'acceptar i de forma comú perquè els interessos són comuns i s'han de trobar vies de solució i entesa.

Quan es facin preguntes filosòfiques sobre si Catalunya és nació o no o altres coses, provem que hi hagi consultes autoritzades per part de les institucions de l'estat sobre aquesta o altres matèries, llavors es veurà la posició majoritària. Igual m'equivoco, però i si fos al revés i els catalans es consideren una nació?

Seria possible que la consulta fos a nivell de l'estat?

Si la volen fer, el més probable és que sigui que no. Potser si ara féssim a Europa sobre si Espanya ha de seguir a l'euro o no, també ens farien fora. És a dir, això de fer consultes segons i com és molt perillós. Les consultes s'han de fer allà on s'entén que hi ha una certa sobirania. Si s'ha de fer una constitució europea s'ha de fer una consulta europea, però si s'ha de saber si Catalunya se sent nació, o si vol una determinada fórmula d'estat, el més normal és consultar-ho als catalans, sempre que es consideri que Catalunya té una singularitat. Però si es considera que si Catalunya es considera una província perifèrica, que no té personalitat pròpia, que no té singularitat, que no té identitat, o té una identitat purament folklòrica i, per tant, no és subjecte de res, aleshores no ens entendrem mai. Aquí està la base de tot i aquí està el clamor del carrer, després de 30 anys de col·laboració màxima i intentar que l'estat fossi el nostre estat, que és el que volíem. Ho hem demostrat durant molt de temps. No som sospitosos del contrari, en absolut, fins i tot fins fa poc temps. Hi havia algun partit espanyol que al 2010, quan Espanya estava al peu dels cavalls va mirar cap una altra banda. I els cavalls haguessin trepitjat a Espanya, i al galop, i en aquell moment hi va haver uns, els catalans, els de CIU, que van intentar treure Espanya de sota els cavalls i estàvem a l'oposició. Són proves molt evidents, molt contundents que no deixen cap sospita. Això es pot valorar o no, però si no es té en compte aleshores la cosa va derivant, perquè la naturalitat així ho fa. El que passa a Catalunya és com un riu que en el fons intenta recuperar el seu curs natural. I quan el curs artificial és molt estret i és molt dur passar pe allí, se sent que en aquest context no podràs progressar ni ser tu, i aleshores intentes recuperar el curs natural. Es pot veure amb animadversió, amb enuig, amb fatiga, però intentin analitzar-ho així. Ho explico de forma que no hi hagi un dramatisme innecessari. Les coses en democràcia es poden analitzar amb tranquil·litat i amb millor estat d'ànim dintre d'una casa comú que és Europa i ens engloba a tots.

Té molta raó, la mateixa que tindrien països com Alemanya, França i, fins i tot Itàlia, que fins ara han estat contribuents nets a Europa des del començament. Què passaria amb tots nosaltres si es trenca la UE?

Ni es planteja, ni se'ns passa pel cap. No tindria sentit establir-ho en aquests termes. Jo els admeto que dintre de la UE no hi ha precedents de països membres a UE amb processos culminats en aquest sentit. Hi ha un que no ha culminat i que està en procés i veurem com acaba que és el tema d'Escòcia. Aquest sí que és un país membre i hi ha un camí obert cap a una major singularitat, però veurem com acaba. Els altres processos a Europa de formulació d'estats han estat a països fora UE. És així, però no dic que això hagi de ser immediat, tot i que Europa en algun moment haurà de fer una reflexió sobre algunes realitat que li poden sobrevenir. El que no tindria sentit és que per unes normes rígides no es pogués adaptar la realitat a la realitat canviant, perquè no tindria cap sentit. Es pot negar tot, el que diré ara també, però Catalunya és un país amb una vocació europea mil·lenària. Al segle IX Catalunya era l'únic territori de la península ibèrica que formava part de l'imperi europeu, de l'imperi carolingi, era la Marca Hispànica. No era la Catalunya actual, era pràcticament la meitat, el que s'anomena la Catalunya Vella, la que està més a prop de França. Això era l'imperi carolingi, la única part de la península que formava part de l'imperi europeu. Per tan, la nostra vocació europea està al nostre ADN mil·lenari. Com podem plantejar alguna cosa que posi en risc un projecte europeu que és el nostre i el d'Espanya en el seu conjunt, al qual sempre hem

intentat donar suport i consolidar? Crec que plantejar les coses en aquest sentit no ens porta enlloc. En el seu moment, si les coses es produeixen, i veient com evolucionin veurem a veure com Europa contempla aquestes realitats.

L'absència de Duran a l'acte podria plantejar-se com a indicador que existeixen dissensions en el sí de la federació? Creu que hauria d'haver vingut i que la seva absència dona a entendre que no està d'acord amb la deriva dels darrers dies i que el va molestar l'incident de les monedes a la manifestació i que vol desmarcar-se i, fins i tot, reservar-se com a poli bo o interlocutor amb el Govern de l'Estat?

Em sembla un tema absolutament irrellevant, perquè si estigués en una posició tan distinta, em pregunto perquè hi va anar a la mani? És de calaix. Duran hi va ser, podent no estar-hi. Hi va anar en cadira de rodes, a més. S'ho hagués pogut estalviar però hi va anar. Jo no hi vaig anar perquè entenc que el meu càrrec de president i, per tant de tots els catalans, m'obligava a preservar una posició estrictament institucional i més en la Diada nacional. No li negaré que ara sí, que una formulació diferent de la que hem fet fins ara... Ens vam presentar a les eleccions amb un concepte que era la transició nacional catalana en forma de transició i objectiu a curt termini que era pacte econòmic en la línia del concert econòmic. Vam guanyar les eleccions catalanes i les eleccions espanyoles a Catalunya per primera vegada. I amb aquest esquema i hi estem 100% d'acord. Si aquest esquema en un futur l'hem de fer evolucionar o variar-lo el més lògic és que entre els dos partits de la federació ho parlem i, a partir d'allí es determinarà els nostres passos i el nostre projecte de futur. Que Duran no sigui aquí és tan prosaic com que està en repòs estricte perquè té un problema important de menisc, per prescripció mèdica. Aquesta és la realitat.

Convocarà eleccions?, perquè probablement serien en benefici d'ERC. Té previst que el Govern d'Espanya pot suspendre l'autonomia que promou el separatisme, dintre del compliment de l'article 155 de la constitució.

Si la reunió amb Rajoy no va bé convocarà immediatament eleccions? Primavera 2013? Si tingués suport suficient al Parlament s'atreviria a fer una declaració independència? Si fos així, confia que la UE donés suport a aquesta declaració?

Les eleccions, no tinc previstes convocar-les a curt termini si no és estrictament necessari, cosa que no puc negar. Espero que no sigui necessari i si no és així el nostre mandat finalitzar tardor 2014, per tan, queden més de 2 anys. També sempre he dit que estem en un moment tan diferent dels altres, tan excepcional, que crec que els governants han d'actuar de forma que no es pugui interpretar que guanyen temps, per quedar-se en una posició estrictament institucional, còmoda. Són moments en que han de jugar-se la, no des d'un punt de vista suïcida, ni provocar problemes per provocar-los, però unes eleccions no s'avancen perquè sí. Repeteixo, no tinc previst fer-ho, però no nego que en algun moment, si la situació es fa difícilment governable, si el tema del pacte fiscal no avança o no té possibilitats, és a dir, qualsevol cosa que pugui passar que tingui força suficient pot provocar un avançament electoral i no passa res. A països molt madurs de la UE, com la mateixa Holanda, han tingut molt governs en pocs anys i gairebé mai han acabat els mandats electorals. Per tan, no s'ha de sacralitzar el fet d'acabar la legislatura a qualsevol preu, perquè no estem en una situació de normalitat. Abans hi érem però ara no i hem d'actuar en funció de les conseqüències.

Sobre la supressió autonomia, jo no puc arribar a jutjar una mesura d'aquesta magnitud. Però, això la supressió de l'autonomia catalana per la via constitucional arreglarà el problema? A un poble que se sent nació i que està disposat a actuar com a tal se li aniquilarà aquest sentiment aplicant un article de la constitució fred i administratiu i suprimint l'autonomia que té i que el mateix poble considera escassa? Això seria una desraó absoluta. Amb tot, si vostès em diuen

que des d'un punt de vista estrictament constitucional es pot arribar a plantejar, potser sí, però seria una desraó que no portaria enlloc. És millor intentar abordar la realitat, intentar entendre-la, escoltar per ambdues parts, reconèixer que hi ha un problema important i, a partir d'aquí, trobar solucions. Però si les solucions són el "orden y mando" en contra de la realitat que, es vulgui o no, és la que és durant segles, i que avui en dia té un sentiment molt viu, com s'està veient, no resoldrà res, a l'inrevés.

Té por que Catalunya acabi intervinguda per l'estat? L'èxit de la manifestació pot esdevenir un argument per evitar condicions polítiques a un rescat?

Considera que els cents de milers de catalans que van sortir a manifestar-se podrien sentir-se més còmodes dintre d'una Espanya federal?

La situació en què ens trobem és gairebé diabòlica, perquè l'esforç que es demana al sistema autonòmic per reduir la despesa no se l'està aplicant l'Estat. No és un problema de condicions o no, necessita una reflexió en el conjunt de l'Estat. A la conferència de presidents del 2 d'octubre diré el mateix. Davant dels altres presidents i aquest no és un tema de condicions sinó d'equilibris i esforç comú. Perquè sinó la pregunta és si tota la reducció de la despesa principal s'ha de fer en sanitat i educació? I amb unes autonomies que no tenen instruments per fer-ho. Que se'ls queda l'Estat. Que hem de fer? Tancar la meitat dels hospitals i de les escoles? És aquest un esforç equivalent? No té cap sentit. Si Europa ajuda Espanya a uns terminis una mica més suaus per anar complir els objectius de dèficit, aquest temps cal compartir-ho entre les estructures de l'estat, que són tres: Estat, CCAA i món local. Les CCAA tenen sobre les seves espatlles les prestacions dels serveis bàsics, dels que asseguren la cohesió social, i no es pot jugar alegrement i acusar les autonomies de malbaratar (despilfarrar), de malbaratar ho ha fet tothom, tothom ha gastat malament i ningú està protegit i segurament els catalans tampoc. Tothom ha malbaratat en més o menys durant uns quants anys. Es gastava sense fixar bé les prioritats, però una cosa és això i una altra diferent és que tot l'ajustament bàsicament s'hagi de fer i molt ràpidament sobre el sistema autonòmic.

Sistema federal: a Espanya ningú hi creu. Si fos així no hauria tingut 35 anys un Senat sense convertir-lo en càmera territorial. És de calaix. Als EUA hi ha un aspecte territorial molt important al seu parlament, a Alemanya també fins al punt que condicionen la majoria de les lleis estatals. A Espanya el Senat és una càmera de segona lectura i portem 35 anys així. Si et consideres federal, actua en conseqüència. Ningú hi creu a Espanya fora d'algun territori concret, que som la minoria, per cert.

Què opina de les sentències del TS i TSJC sobre model lingüístic a Catalunya? Creu que els drets de pares i alumnes estan limitats o que hi ha o una estratègia d'assetjament a la llengua?

Crec el segon (que hi ha un assetjament a la llengua). No li puc posar molts matisos. És molt evident que és el segon.

Boicot productes catalans si es declara independència?

Potser és utòpic o ingenu, però crec que precisament quan els països i les societats són plenament democràtics sempre tenen com a premissa parlar les coses civilitzadament. Sinó per a què serveix la democràcia? Per parlar incivilitzadament hi ha altres sistemes. Guerres, boicots, insults, degradacions forma part d'un llenguatge d'una Espanya que ja no hauria d'existir. Estem al segle XXI. Formem part de la UE. Estem entre les democràcies madures del món i s'ha de poder parlar les coses civilitzadament. Passi el que passi, el nivell de rel

Catalunya-Espanya ha de ser molt intens perquè són dues realitats no només relacionades sinó imbricades. A Catalunya tenim més de 3 milions de persones amb arrels no catalanes, compto les persones d'altres territoris espanyols i molts estaven a la manifestació. Els seus fills i néts han nascut a Catalunya. Són catalans. Es presentin com es presentin les coses, quedem-nos amb el millor que té una democràcia i l'útil que té una relació amigable. Per tenir una relació amigable de veritat ha de ser més de tu a tu. Potser Catalunya i Espanya necessiten que aquesta relació sigui més de tu a tu i llavors potser ens portem sorpreses positives. Però, passi el que passi, la relació entre Catalunya i Espanya serà molt intensa, des del punt de vista econòmic, d'interessos comuns a Europa, d'estructures comunes de tot tipus... No pot ser un tall total i absolut, no tindria sentit, però cal atendre el pols de la societat catalana, que existeix a va a un ritme alt.

Li agradaria passar a la història com Cambó, Companys...?

Home, com Companys no. No em vulgui tant mal. Ja li poso coratge, però vocació de màrtir final no en tinc. Parcial sí, però no final. Com a què més?

Tarradellas, Cambó... no em digui que com Artur Mas?

Això seria l'últim que hauria dit....

Cal tenir una mica de coneixement de la història de Catalunya del segle XX, però m'agradaria ser una combinació d'Enric Prat de la Riba - que no va ser president - i de Francesc Macià. Prat de la Riba va ser un constructor de Catalunya amb pocs instruments, però amb molta qualitat, que va fer una obra ingent que encara perdura 100 anys després. Francesc Macià, l'home de les idees però sobretot dels ideals. Una combinació d'obra de qualitat i ideal, i per tant projecte, si ho pogués assimilar d'aquesta forma aquest híbrid m'agradaria poder assumir-lo. Tampoc és la meua principal preocupació. Seria una bona combinació. També pretenc ser una digna baula d'una cadena de presidents que ha deixat empremta. Sóc el 129 president de Catalunya i, com a tal, aspiro a què la dignitat i la continuïtat d'aquesta cadena no baixi de cop sinó que es mantingui a un nivell prou digne. La figura del president de la Generalitat és tan institucionalment tan significativa que abans de l'aprovació de la Constitució Espanyola es va restituir la Generalitat amb el president Tarradellas. Aquest hauria de ser fet suficient per haver pogut fer un plantejament durant els darrers 30 anys del tracte de Catalunya diferents de com s'ha fet i fins i tot amb una adequació específica dins de la mateixa Constitució, perquè ja quan es va aprovar la Generalitat estava restaurada a través de la figura del seu president a l'exili, que va passar a ser president de la Generalitat. Per què no s'ha fet? Per què hi ha hagut tanta miopia al conjunt Espanya per no entendre que no es pot anar contra les realitats que volen ser? Potser si s'hagués actuat així fa molts anys potser avui estaríem en una situació diferent. Dit això procurarem que l'actual es resolgui de la manera més civilitzada possible i estic segur que ho serà amb la col·laboració de tothom.



Intervenció del president de la Generalitat en el marc del sopar ofert amb motiu de la cimera del BCE

Barcelona, 2 de maig de 2012

Els dono la benvinguda a Barcelona com a President d'una de les més velles nacions d'Europa. En efecte, Catalunya era ja al segle IX, fa mil dos-cents anys, l'únic territori de la Península Ibèrica que pertanyia a l'Imperi de Carlemany, amb capital a Aquisgrà. Catalunya era aleshores la Marca Hispànica de l'imperi carolingi, i per tant la frontera amb els regnes musulmans. Aquest és el primer missatge que els vull donar: estan en un país, Catalunya, que no és europeu per un tractat d'adhesió o per una Constitució. Som europeus per història, identitat i vocació.

El segon missatge és que Catalunya, i Barcelona, no són el resultat o el producte de l'obra d'un Estat, sinó d'una societat. Una societat que al llarg de segles ha progressat a base d'esforç, de creativitat, d'esperit de superació i de modernitat. Els posaré un exemple: el Palau que avui els acull va començar a construir-se fa sis-cents anys, just en el moment que a Barcelona naixia l'anomenada Taula de Canvi, que es pot considerar el primer banc públic d'Europa. I per tant, en algun sentit, un precursor de l'actual BCE.

El tercer missatge és ben actual: estem compromesos amb l'austeritat com a valor i amb la necessitat de fer reformes estructurals. De fet, des del Govern de Catalunya donem suport a gairebé totes les decisions que prenen els governs espanyols, encara que siguin impopulars. Ho fem per responsabilitat, i en molts casos procurem donar exemple i liderar en el conjunt d'Espanya les polítiques de reducció del dèficit i de la despesa pública.

No obstant, advertim d'un risc que pot convertir-se en un perill: en plena recessió econòmica no és aconsellable reduir el dèficit a un ritme que agreugi molt més la situació econòmica i social. Tan important és controlar els dèficits com fer-ho d'una manera que doni esperança a la població. Els ho diu el President d'un territori que no viu del subsidi sinó de l'esforç. Que



amb el 16% de la població espanyola representa el 19% del PIB, el 30% del comerç exterior espanyol, que concentra el 22% de les empreses innovadores d'Espanya i que representa l'1% de la producció científica mundial.

Sabem que la tasca del Banc Central Europeu no és fàcil, perquè Europa està travessant una situació d'una gran complexitat. I l'Euro també. Sabem que sobre les seves espatlles pesa una gran responsabilitat. També sobre les nostres. De les nostres decisions comunes, de la seva eficàcia i de la seva justícia, en depenen el present i el futur de moltes persones que tenen sentiments de por o de manca d'esperança. Europa és dels pocs llocs del món que ha sabut posar l'economia al servei del benestar i de la justícia social, i no a l'inrevés. Aquesta conquesta l'hauríem de saber preservar, fins i tot en un món globalitzat com el que tenim.

Vostès, amb les seves decisions, hi poden contribuir d'una manera molt destacada. Els desitjo que facin una bona feina, i que gaudeixin de la seva estada a Barcelona i a Catalunya.

Discurs del president de la Generalitat en el Debat de Política General

Parlament de Catalunya, 25 de setembre de 2013

Moltes gràcies, Molt Honorable senyora Presidenta del Parlament, Honorable Vicepresidenta, Honorables Consellers i Conselleres, il·lustres senyores i senyors Diputats,

Enceto el debat de política general, el primer d'aquesta desena legislatura, amb la voluntat d'abordar quatre grans eixos que configuren el present del nostre país i que, segons quina sigui la seva evolució, perfilaran el futur de Catalunya tant en el curt com en el llarg termini. Assenyalo, ja de bell antuvi, que els quatre grans temes que ara esmentaré no s'han de veure com a compartiments estancs, ans al contrari, tenen molts vasos comunicants i una elevada complementarietat.

Concretament, em refereixo als eixos següents:

- procés polític endegat a Catalunya, basat en l'exercici del dret a decidir i en el concepte de transició nacional.
- situació i perspectives de les finances de la Generalitat, i per tant de la viabilitat del gruix de les polítiques públiques a Catalunya.
- Comportament de l'economia, de l'ocupació i del nostre model d'Estat del benestar.
- Restitució de la confiança entre institucions i ciutadania, regeneració i qualitat democràtiques.

Endinsem-nos, doncs, en aquests quatre àmbits que els proposo.

1. PROCÉS POLÍTIC

Fem una breu sinopsi dels fets dels darrers anys, que expliquen per què som on som i per què hem arribat fins aquí.

Setembre 2005: aprovació, en aquest Parlament i per molt àmplia majoria, de la proposta de nou Estatut. Finals 2005: constatació que el president del Govern d'Espanya, J. L. Rodríguez Zapatero, fa temps que ha fet marxa enrere i que no pensa complir el seu famós i públic compromís "apoyaré el Estatut que salga del Parlament". Gener 2006: pacte a la Moncloa per desencallar un Estatut retallat que estava més mort que viu. Juny 2006: referèndum a Catalunya per avalar un Estatut prèviament aprovat per les Corts Generals: guanya el sí amb un 74%, amb una participació que frega el 50%. El nou Estatut entra en vigor. Comencen, com sempre, els incompliments per aplicar-lo. Es produeix, com sempre, la rebaixa de la rebaixa. Juny 2010: sentència del Tribunal

Constitucional, resolent els recursos del PP i del Defensor del Pueblo, que liquida parts essencials de l'Estatut aprovat per les Corts –és a dir, el lloc de la sobirania del poble espanyol-, i pel poble català en referèndum. Una sentència innecessària, desproporcionada, humiliant, que posa fi a cent anys d'acció catalanista basada en una aposta d'entesa constructiva i lleial amb l'Estat espanyol. Miquel Roca, un dels pares de la Constitució, escriu aleshores que “el projecte comú del 78 s'ha esgotat. El TC l'ha enterrat. Espanya té un problema”. 10 de juliol del 2010: massiva manifestació a Barcelona sota el lema “Som una nació, nosaltres decidim”. L'aleshores president de la Generalitat, José Montilla, hi assisteix. Juliol 2012: el Parlament de Catalunya aprova, també per àmplia majoria, la proposta de pacte fiscal en la línia del concert econòmic. Diada Nacional 2012: un milió i mig de persones, en la manifestació més nombrosa feta a Catalunya, ocupen cívicament els carrers de la capital de Catalunya, sota el lema “Catalunya, nou Estat d'Europa”. Nou dies després, el 20 de setembre de l'any passat, el president Mariano Rajoy tanca la porta a qualsevol negociació sobre el Pacte Fiscal. Constatada aquesta negativa clara, decideixo dissoldre el Parlament i convocar eleccions per al 25 de novembre del 2012. La participació és la més alta de totes les eleccions al Parlament des del 1980. El resultat és conegut, i determina la composició actual d'aquesta cambra. Aquelles eleccions es fan per obtenir la legitimitat per endegar el camí que ara estem seguint: dret a decidir, consulta, transició nacional, Estat propi per a Catalunya. A partir d'aquelles eleccions, ningú pot parlar de majories silencioses sobre el futur polític de Catalunya; un 70% de participació a les urnes és una majoria sonora. Molt sonora i ahora molt serena.

Veient com ha anat el fotograma que els he descrit, algú realment es pot sorprendre del perquè hem arribat fins aquí? Hi hem arribat perquè la sentència del TC aixeca un mur en la relació entre la majoria de la societat catalana i l'Estat espanyol, i constitueix l'evidència plàstica que el famós “encaix” de Catalunya a l'Estat no és possible en els termes que el catalanisme plural, divers i transversal l'ha buscat històricament i fins a èpoques ben recents. Dit d'una altra manera, l'encaix solament és possible si Catalunya renuncia al seu projecte col·lectiu, si renuncia a ser un subjecte polític. Si acceptem ser un objecte, l'encaix és possible. Si volem ser un subjecte, amb personalitat i identitat pròpies, amb opcions d'oferir als set milions i mig de catalanes i de catalans un projecte propi, no subordinat, aleshores l'encaix no és possible, encara que l'haguem perseguit molt de temps. Més de cent anys.

Al costat d'aquest relat, n'hi ha un de paral·lel: la societat catalana no es conforma, no abaixa el cap, no es plega de braços. El país és viu, molt viu. I reacciona. Es mobilitza. Està fatigat d'una relació amb l'Estat a la qual no li veu futur, en les condicions actuals. A risc d'equivocar-me, els trasllado la meua percepció: Catalunya sent afecte real per Espanya, se l'estima; però ja no confia en l'Estat espanyol.

Aquest país viu, il·lusionat per un futur diferent i millor, que vol ser protagonista del seu destí, és el que surt l'11 de setembre passat de

manera democràtica, pacífica, majoritària, cívica, fins i tot festiva malgrat les dificultats que pateix, forma la via catalana per la independència, fa un gran acte de fe en el seu esdevenidor col·lectiu i impressiona al món per la vitalitat, la seva enorme capacitat de mobilització i les seves bones maneres.

Aquest cop, fins i tot l'Estat, normalment altiu i displicent amb les qüestions nacionals catalanes, gairebé sempre tan perdonavides com ignorant, no té més remei que constatar que té un problema. I molt gran.

Aquesta realitat de país que estem vivint, com es tradueix en aquest hemicycle del nostre Parlament?

Amb modulacions diverses, que van des de la reforma constitucional fins a la configuració d'un estat independent, hi ha una cosa clara: 107 dels 135 diputats d'aquest Parlament portaven en el seu programa electoral recent propostes que avalaven diferents formats per canviar l'actual marc de relacions entre Catalunya i la resta de l'Estat espanyol.

El dret a decidir i la voluntat de fer una consulta són doncs majoritaris i transversals en aquest Parlament. Ho són avui i ho seran el dia de demà. És cert que les visions sobre la consulta són diverses i plurals, com tant cert és que pràcticament el 80% del Parlament té clar que no podem mantenir l'estatus quo actual.

Estem davant d'una nova centralitat política a Catalunya, d'una nova etapa. Molt diferent de les anteriors. Jo mateix, en algun moment, vaig parlar de dimensió desconeguda. Ara ja hi som, i a més sabem que no hi ha marxa enrere possible.

En aquests darrers mesos, s'han fet passos clars en el sentit del camí que ens va traçar el poble de Catalunya en les eleccions de fa 10 mesos.

El 23 de gener, el Parlament de Catalunya va aprovar en sessió plenària una històrica declaració de sobirania i del dret a decidir del poble de Catalunya. En ella es va manifestar de manera solemne l'inici del "procés per fer efectiu l'exercici del dret a decidir per tal que els ciutadans i les ciutadanes de Catalunya puguin decidir llur futur polític col·lectiu", d'acord amb els principis de –deia la declaració–: sobirania –és a dir, el poble de Catalunya té caràcter de subjecte polític–; legitimitat democràtica; transparència; diàleg; cohesió social; europeisme; legalitat; paper principal del Parlament; i participació.

De manera incomprensible, el Govern espanyol va recórrer la declaració de sobirania davant el Tribunal Constitucional, que en va declarar la suspensió. Al marge de la decisió final que s'acabi prenent, el que és absurd i difícil d'entendre és que s'intenti anul·lar un posicionament polític, que trasllada la voluntat dels ciutadans de Catalunya d'exercir el seu dret a decidir per vies estrictament democràtiques. Com es pot invalidar una expressió democràtica? Vol dir que hem de deixar d'expressar i de dir el que pensem una gran majoria de catalanes i

catalans? Es pot invalidar una declaració que expressa un pensament pacífic i democràtic?

Posteriorment, el 13 de març d'enguany, el Parlament va aprovar per una majoria encara més àmplia una resolució en la qual instava el Govern a *“iniciar un diàleg amb el Govern de l'Estat per a fer possible la celebració d'una consulta als ciutadans de Catalunya per a decidir sobre el seu futur.”*

Així doncs, d'entrada, el Parlament donava forma als objectius nacionals de la legislatura: posicionament polític a favor d'iniciar el procés per a la consulta i mandat al Govern per dialogar i negociar-lo amb el Govern espanyol.

En aquesta mateixa direcció, el Parlament va constituir l'1 de juliol passat la Comissió d'estudi del dret a decidir, a proposta de cinc dels set grups d'aquesta cambra.

I en paral·lel, i de manera complementària, hem treballat per un altre dels elements que al nostre entendre és fonamental: hem d'aconseguir que el procés sigui al més transversal possible i compti amb una majoria social al darrere, que pugui anar creixent. Com més àmplia, millor, ja que això és el que el farà incontestable. Per aquest motiu, el 26 de juny es va constituir el Pacte Nacional pel Dret a Decidir, amb l'objectiu de fer partícips del procés de l'exercici del dret a decidir la societat civil, les institucions més representatives del país, el món local i les forces polítiques que hi siguin favorables, més enllà de la seva posició final en el moment de la consulta.

La setmana passada, el president Rigol va presentar públicament la proposta del que ha de ser el manifest a favor del dret a decidir, amb l'objectiu que en les properes setmanes, tots els integrants del Pacte el puguin subscriure, evidenciant d'aquesta manera el compromís inequívoc i transversal que existeix al voltant d'aquest procés.

Per la seva part, el Govern va constituir el mes d'abril el Consell Assessor per a la Transició Nacional. Integrat per 14 persones d'ample i reconegut prestigi en l'àmbit universitari i professional, té l'encàrrec d'analitzar i preveure les grans decisions que haurà d'adoptar el Govern i les estructures d'estat de què haurà de disposar Catalunya, en el cas d'esdevenir un nou estat. És evident que estem abordant una etapa nova i sobre la qual mai s'havia treballat tan a fons i amb detall. I també resulta evident que aquest és un procés que hem de ser capaços de fer bé, amb rigor, seriositat i passos segurs. Així doncs, la feina que faci aquest consell assessor serà molt útil per poder tenir un full de ruta clar de les decisions i elements que caldrà tenir en compte en el futur.

En aquest sentit, el primer informe presentat pel Consell el 25 de juliol passat aborda la consulta sobre el futur polític de Catalunya i presenta de forma argumentada i rigorosa les vies legals que permeten fer-la

efectiva. De marcs legals per fer la consulta n'hi ha molts i diversos, però cal voluntat política per fer-ne ús.

No vull deixar de recordar que aquesta cambra està tramitant en aquest moment la proposició de llei de consultes, amb l'objectiu que sigui aprovada durant aquest any 2013. Val la pena posar de manifest que aquesta llei que desenvolupa les competències que ens atorga l'Estatut d'autonomia té un caràcter molt rellevant, ja que pot ser una de les vies legals possibles a utilitzar per a la celebració de la consulta.

Finalment, i d'acord amb la resolució aprovada per aquest Parlament el mes de març, i que abans els citava, el 26 de juliol passat vaig enviar una carta al president del Govern espanyol per manifestar-li de forma solemne quin és el sentir, la voluntat i el propòsit d'una majoria molt àmplia del poble de Catalunya. Aquesta no és altra que poder votar i poder decidir. En aquest sentit, l'emplaçava a iniciar un diàleg i una negociació per a la celebració d'una consulta de manera pactada, amb els marcs legals que establísim. Més enllà de la carta, aquesta voluntat de diàleg ja havia quedat manifestada en alguna trobada anterior amb el president Rajoy.

El president Rajoy va respondre el 14 de setembre passat a la carta que li vaig adreçar. La seva resposta se centrava en el que ell entén com una oferta de vies de diàleg i respecte al marc jurídic. El Govern que presideixo i jo mateix som, i hem estat, partidaris del màxim diàleg institucional i hem arribat a presentar fins a cinc vies legals possibles per a la realització de la consulta. No una, ni dues, ni tres, fins a cinc.

Aprofitarem qualsevol escletxa de diàleg amb les institucions de l'Estat. Tanmateix, hi ha una pregunta clau que ara com ara no té resposta i que marca qualsevol procés de diàleg: accepta l'Estat espanyol una consulta a Catalunya per conèixer la voluntat del poble català sobre el futur polític del país? Si s'accepta aquest principi democràtic i es dóna resposta a la voluntat molt majoritària de la societat catalana, aleshores caldrà negociar i acordar el marc legal per fer-ho possible. Ara bé, si no s'accepta el principi, aleshores què es pot negociar? per molta bona voluntat que hi hagi per part nostra, què es pot negociar?

Per part del Govern de Catalunya, el full de ruta està clarament definit. A mode de recordatori, simplement de recordatori, voldria fer esment dels punts següents:

Primer. La consulta s'ha de celebrar l'any 2014, tal com està acordat en el pacte de legislatura. Treballarem incansablement perquè sigui així.

Segon. Abans de final d'any concretarem la data, el contingut de la consulta – i, per tan, la pregunta- i el marc o marcs legals a utilitzar, atenent que n'hi ha cinc de possibles. La meua voluntat és que aquest triple acord sigui assolit entre totes les formacions polítiques favorables al dret a decidir.

Tercer. Volem celebrar la consulta de manera acordada amb l'Estat, o com a mínim en un marc de tolerància i, per tant, en absència de conflicte jurídic.

Quart. Si malgrat la nostra inequívoca voluntat de diàleg i d'acord cap negociació amb l'Estat és possible, estic disposat a utilitzar com a President tots els instruments democràtics i legals al meu abast a fi de facilitar que el poble de Catalunya pugui decidir lliurement el seu futur com a país, inclosa la convocatòria d'eleccions. No és l'escenari que desitjo, ni és el millor. Tanmateix, estic disposat a arribar fins a aquest punt, com a últim recurs, subratllo, com a últim recurs, si es pretén silenciar la veu i impedir el vot de les catalanes i dels catalans.

Tot i que el procés polític en què Catalunya està immersa té una transcendència i una profunditat enormes, de gran calat, i acapara el màxim interès informatiu i mediàtic, no és ni de bon tros l'únic tema important que viu el nostre país i que ocupa al Govern, també ho vull deixar clar. Si el procés polític segueix el seu curs és perquè pot enfortir per molt de temps el nostre benestar col·lectiu.

Entrem, doncs, en el segon eix del discurs.

2. SOSTENIBILITAT DE LES FINANCES PÚBLIQUES

D'aquesta sostenibilitat en depenen la viabilitat de les polítiques públiques a Catalunya i, en conseqüència, els serveis públics, la cohesió social, la cohesió territorial, el futur de l'estat de benestar i els estímuls al creixement econòmic i a la creació d'ocupació. Ras i curt, la sostenibilitat de les finances de la Generalitat marca el model de país i el model de benestar. No és pas poca cosa.

Tots vostès saben que un debat de política general no es pot confondre amb un debat de pressupostos. També saben que, davant de la impossibilitat de fer el pressupost d'enguany, el Govern va decidir a l'agost prorrogar per al 2013 el pressupost de l'any anterior i començar a elaborar i tramitar el pressupost per al 2014, que es debatrà properament en aquest Parlament i que confio que s'aprovarà abans de finals d'any. Temps hi haurà, doncs, per al debat pressupostari detallat.

Dit això, pertoca respondre breument la pregunta de per què s'ha decidit prorrogar el pressupost per al 2013. El conseller d'Economia va comparèixer fa unes quantes setmanes davant del Parlament per donar totes les explicacions pertinents. En resum, les raons de la pròrroga són dues.

La primera respon a la batalla que el nostre Govern va decidir emprendre per aconseguir un repartiment just i equitatiu del dèficit públic autoritzat a l'Estat espanyol. Coneixen la nostra teoria, inspirada crec en el sentit comú: si la despesa de les autonomies representa una tercera part de la despesa

pública de tot l'Estat, ens correspon també a les autonomies una tercera part del dèficit global.

Lluny d'aquesta regla d'or, el Govern central havia assignat a les autonomies no una tercera part com ens corresponia, sinó una sisena part. Aquesta era la situació de partida a principis del 2013. Un escàndol i una presa de pèl. Gairebé tota la resta d'autonomies ho va acceptar i varen aprovar pressupostos.

Pressupostos, sí, però convenientment maquillats. En alguns casos, amb tones de maquillatge. Catalunya va dir que no, ens vàrem plantar. Era més fàcil i més còmode abaixar el cap i fer uns pressupostos impossibles de complir. O pitjor encara, fer uns pressupostos que desmuntessin el model de benestar a Catalunya. Què ens haurien dit si haguéssim procedit així?

En comptes de fer el que era fàcil, vàrem fer el que era difícil i arriscat: liderar una acció continuada per fer entendre que posar les autonomies contra les cordes en el tema del dèficit era posar la sanitat, l'ensenyament i els serveis socials al peu dels cavalls.

També volíem fer entendre una altra cosa: que si la Unió Europea reconeixia un dèficit clarament superior als estats que tenien un punt de partida pitjor, cas d'Espanya, també l'Estat espanyol havia de permetre un dèficit superior a les autonomies que tinguessin un punt de partida pitjor, cas de Catalunya. Per cert, el nostre punt de partida pitjor coincidia amb el darrer balanç del segon govern tripartit, corresponent al 2010, quan Catalunya va fer el doble de dèficit del que havia acordat amb l'Estat. I va fer el doble de dèficit quan Catalunya tenia en aquells moments una tercera part del dèficit que corresponia al conjunt de les administracions públiques de l'Estat espanyol, Catalunya i les altres autonomies. Desviació gairebé del 100%. Inaudit però cert.

La nostra batalla d'aquests set mesos ha donat fruits: de la sisena part del dèficit que teníem assignat a començaments d'any hem passat a una quarta part. En diners, hem salvat en set mesos 1.800 milions d'euros. Equivalen a 5 milions per cada un dels 365 dies de l'any 2013. Són, per dir-ho clar, 1.800 milions d'euros de menys retallades. Senyores i senyors diputats, no valen 1.800 milions d'euros de menys retallades una pròrroga de pressupostos?

La segona raó de la pròrroga de 2013 és més de procediment. El Govern central ens va comunicar la xifra definitiva de dèficit a finals de juliol. Havien passat dos terços de l'any, i no teníem temps material de tramitar els pressupostos del 2013, sobretot pel que fa a la política d'ingressos. Tot i que no havíem aconseguit el nostre objectiu sencer, havíem evitat un volum de retallades que hauria destrossat el model de benestar i hauria minvat encara més les retribucions dels servidors públics. Arribats a aquest punt, tot aconsellava la pròrroga. És el que hem fet, i recordo que tenim majoria en aquest Parlament per haver procedit així.

Permetin-me ara un flaix general sobre el marc pressupostari del 2014. La idea central és la següent: no podem gastar ni un euro més que el 2013; però tampoc gastarem menys. Per tant, per primer cop en anys, preveiem que no hi haurà noves retallades.

La idea següent que val la pena retenir és que si el Govern central ens assignés per al 14 el dèficit que ens toca en justícia, és a dir, 1/3 del que la UE preveu per a Espanya, la Generalitat podria complir perfectament el dèficit assignat. Vist amb la perspectiva de fa només tres anys, gairebé un miracle.

I una darrera imatge a no perdre de vista: si l'Estat ens pagués solament el que ens deu per la clàusula de l'Estatut sobre les infraestructures, podríem complir fins i tot amb el dèficit injust que el mateix Estat ens imposa per al 2014, equivalent a l'1% del PIB.

Conclusió de tot plegat: en els darrers tres anys la Generalitat ha fet tots els ajustos que estaven a la seva mà per adequar la despesa pública als temps i circumstàncies que la crisi, i la política europea convinguda per tots els estats, i subratllo per tots els estats, han marcat i segueixen marcant.

L'altra conclusió és evident: el Govern, i Convergència i Unió, hem hagut d'assumir pràcticament en solitari tots els costos polítics de les retallades. Els que ens corresponien per haver arribat al Govern en època de forta recessió, i els que no ens corresponien perquè eren producte de la incapacitat del segon tripartit per prendre decisions que requerissin cohesió interna o coratge polític.

Una incapacitat que, per cert, va deixar la Generalitat en situació d'indefensió financera –que encara patim- i en conseqüència d'una dependència política del Govern central sense precedents des de la recuperació de l'autogovern. Encara és hora, i han passat tres anys, d'haver sentit alguna autocrítica davant d'un balanç tan negatiu com enverinat.

A tall de resum, i per entendre la magnitud de les decisions que ha hagut de prendre el Govern en els darrers tres anys, quedin-se amb els missatges següents:

- l'any 2010 la Generalitat va fer el doble de dèficit del que tenia acordat amb l'Estat. L'any 2012, malgrat la dura i persistent recessió, el dèficit s'havia reduït a menys de la meitat. Uns els van multiplicar per dos; els altres l'hem dividit per dos.
- la conseqüència directa dels dèficits acumulats és que el 2013 pagarem més del doble d'interessos financers que el 2010. És a dir, dèficits descontrolats com el del 2010 no només comporten retallades doloroses sinó que augmenten exponencialment els diners públics que van a parar a les entitats financeres i als mercats. Com es veu, una política molt progressista i d'esquerres.

- per tenir una idea aproximada del que això significa, pensin que els interessos financers que la Generalitat ha pagat en els darrers tres anys –més de 5.000 milions d’euros– superen àmpliament el pressupost del Departament d’Ensenyament, tripliquen el de Benestar Social i Família, i multipliquen per vint-i-cinc el de Cultura. Per tant, dèficits descontrolats signifiquen interessos financers forassenyats que al seu torn es mengen, com els tèrmits, la substància de l’estat del benestar.
- l’esforç de l’actual Govern per reequilibrar les finances públiques catalanes està sent ingent, dolorós i inajornable. Només en tres anys, el pressupost de la Generalitat s’ha reduït un 20%. N’han patit les conseqüències els treballadors públics, la inversió pública, el suport a l’economia productiva, les polítiques de seguretat, la política cultural i els serveis públics lligats al model de benestar. I també la relació amb les administracions locals.

El pastís s’ha fet un 20% més petit, però hem d’atendre més persones, més necessitades, i més obligacions de tota mena. I això només es pot fer amb una enorme responsabilitat i generositat dels treballadors públics i amb una alta consciència de la ciutadania sobre la precarietat dels nostres recursos públics.

- Catalunya ha fet un esforç proporcionalment molt superior al que li correspondria tenint en compte el pes que té la seva despesa en el conjunt de la despesa de totes les administracions públiques, i també si s’analitza només a nivell de les comunitats autònomes. En efecte, entre els anys 2010 i 2012, Catalunya, que representa el 17,5% de tota la despesa que fan les autonomies, ha fet un 24,33% de tot l’ajust autonòmic.
- vist des d’una altra perspectiva, i en aquest mateix període, Catalunya, que només fa el 6% de tota la despesa del conjunt d’administracions públiques de tot l’Estat, ha fet el 17,3% de l’ajust de totes les administracions públiques de l’Estat. El triple del que ens corresponia.
- i, repeteixo, tot això ho hem hagut de dur a terme en un escenari de recessió econòmica, amb una reducció de les transferències econòmiques provinents de l’Estat, sense que el mateix Estat ens reconegués i pagués els deutes, i veient com els marges de relaxació del dèficit concedits per Europa a Espanya es distribuïen de manera injusta entre l’administració de l’Estat i les administracions autonòmiques i locals. La conseqüència d’aquesta distribució injusta és que mentre la Generalitat en tres anys ha reduït la seva despesa departamental en un 20%, el govern de l’Estat no ha fet, ni de bon tros, el mateix.

Molts es pregunten, després de tres anys, si aquest esforç ha valgut la pena. La resposta és que sí, perquè aquests esforços ens han permès assegurar la sostenibilitat de les finances públiques i, en conseqüència, poder garantir el nucli dur de les polítiques socials. El pastís és un 20% més

petit, ens agradi o no ens agradi, però la proporció de les polítiques socials és més gran que no pas era quan el pastís era més gros.

I per finalitzar aquest segon gran eix de la meva intervenció, dir-los que a partir d'ara, si aconseguim la definitiva estabilització de les finances públiques catalanes i hi estem en camí, podrem anar triant els moments per anar revertint decisions doloroses que s'han anat prenent aquests anys. Aquests moments no han arribat encara, però esperem que arribin al més aviat possible.

Els en posaré un exemple ben concret. El desembre de l'any passat el nostre Govern va aprovar per decret llei imposar un tribut sobre les entitats financeres que operen a Catalunya, en línia amb decisions preses en altres autonomies. Pocs dies després, el Govern espanyol va fer el mateix. Es va "apropiar" de l'impost. Tenim dret, per tant, a una compensació per haver-lo aprovat abans.

Doncs bé, si l'any que ve se'ns compensa aquest impost, l'aplicarem a restituir la paga extra que els treballadors públics de la Generalitat han perdut temporalment. És un exemple gràfic de reversibilitat, en una fase de major estabilitat i control de les finances públiques.

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3. TERCER GRAN EIX: ACCIÓ DE GOVERN EN L'ÀMBIT DE LA REACTIVACIÓ ECONÒMICA, LA MILLORA DE L'OCUPACIÓ I EL REFORÇAMENT DE L'ESTAT DEL BENESTAR

Vull fer-los l'exposició de l'acció de Govern i de la situació del país des de tres prismes diferents. En primer lloc, descriuré aquells àmbits en els quals considero que s'ha produït una inflexió en relació amb l'any passat, bé perquè han millorat, bé perquè estan progressant adequadament. En segon lloc, assenyalaré els aspectes en els quals necessitem començar a millorar, perquè no ho hem fet. I per últim, voldria assenyalar alguns projectes importants de país que defineixen reptes principals de futur que tenim per endavant. En cap cas s'ha d'entendre que aquests prismes que esmentaré són exhaustius, sinó que responen a un esforç de síntesi de cara al debat. Òbviament, n'hi poden haver d'altres que vostès aniran traient al llarg de les seves intervencions.

3.1. Àmbits que van bé o que simplement milloren

N'he triat deu, que passo a descriure de manera condensada per no cansar-los amb llistes interminables de fets i de conceptes.

A. Acció exterior, en la vessant econòmica

Catalunya, el seu teixit productiu, els seus professionals, el seu teixit associatiu i les institucions públiques estan duent a terme un encomiable, tenaç, necessari i exitós procés d'internacionalització i d'obertura al món.

Les exportacions segueixen creixent, per quart any consecutiu; Catalunya ja ven més fora d'Espanya que no pas dins. La nostra economia ja depèn més del món que del mercat espanyol. Cal seguir per aquest bon camí.

Les empreses catalanes exportadores ja se situen en les 46.200 (2.700 empreses més que l'any anterior, assolint una xifra rècord) i, de fet, cada vegada són més les empreses que exporten de manera regular. En aquests moments ja són més de 14.000 les que ho fan regularment. Els nostres mercats es van diversificant, i n'obrim de nous.

Un altre aspecte de l'acció exterior que funciona bé és la inversió estrangera.

Malgrat la crisi, Catalunya continua essent atractiva per a la captació d'inversió estrangera. Segons la base de dades del Financial Times Group, l'any 2012 vam atreure projectes d'inversió internacional per un import de 2.247 milions d'euros, projectes que duïen 8.323 llocs de treball associats. Dins de l'Europa continental al marge del Regne Unit cap altra regió va superar aquestes xifres.

Aquesta mateixa base de dades, referida ara al primer semestre del 2013, identifica projectes d'inversió per un import de 1.900 milions d'euros (primer semestre del 2013 i segona posició al rànquing europeu) i amb 4.000 llocs de treball associats (tercera posició al rànquing europeu).

No és gens sobrer subratllar aquest bon comportament de la inversió estrangera en un moment en el qual s'airegen polèmiques interessades i partidistes sobre el nostre atractiu com a destí inversor.

Per tant, el programa Invest in Catalonia continuarà essent prioritari. El reforçarem amb una major capacitat d'oferta de sòl i serveis associats i l'ampliarem cap a l'interior, perquè estimuli la inversió autòctona a més de captar-ne d'estrangera.

La bona marxa de l'acció exterior de Catalunya es completa amb el turisme.

L'estratègia del Govern en política turística és la d'aprofitar l'èxit que tenim com a destinació turística per consolidar el sector com a veritable tractor de l'economia catalana i per convertir-nos en una destinació turística de projecció mundial.

Tot i que continua augmentant el nombre de turistes estrangers que visiten Catalunya –al primer semestre del 2013 han augmentat un 5,7% respecte del primer semestre del 2012- hem de dir clarament que el nostre objectiu no és batre cada any el rècord de turistes. El nostre repte no és l'increment de la xifra de turistes que vénen sinó l'increment dels ingressos per capita que aquests generen.

En aquest aspecte, les dades també són positives: el primer semestre d'enguany el turisme estranger ens ha proporcionat un 10,3% més que el primer semestre de l'any passat. Són xifres contundents i esperançadores.

A aquest fet ens hi ajuda la potent marca que representa la capital del nostre país, la marca Barcelona: per primera vegada, Barcelona s'ha situat entre les 10 ciutats de món amb més turistes estrangers. No en va, durant els primers sis mesos d'aquest 2013 Barcelona ha rebut més d'un milió de creueristes, un 18,4% més que l'any passat, i s'ha convertit en una de les ciutats més atractives per a la celebració de fires, congressos i reunions empresarials i professionals de caràcter internacional.

En els darrers mesos hem presentat el Pla Estratègic de Turisme de Catalunya i el Pla de Màrqueting Turístic de Catalunya (2013-2016). I hem aplicat la taxa turística, amb bons resultats, i amb molt bona col·laboració del sector.

Projecció exterior de la cultura, la llengua i l'esport catalans

La projecció de Catalunya al món també té, tanmateix, una dimensió cultural cada cop més reeixida.

Catalunya ha sabut projectar-se i singularitzar-se a nivell internacional com un país imaginatiu, creatiu, divers, tolerant, amb una cultura i llengua pròpies.

La cultura és, per a Catalunya, estratègica. I ho és perquè configura de forma dinàmica la identitat nacional, perquè és el suport i el vehicle de la creativitat i l'expressivitat; perquè garanteix i referma la cohesió i el benestar social; perquè constitueix la civilitat i la convivència democràtica; perquè cal consolidar, i on sigui possible augmentar, un sector de futur, fonamentat en el coneixement, que contribueix al progrés econòmic i a l'ocupació. Perquè Catalunya s'ha guanyat una determinada imatge al món.

En posaré alguns exemples:

- L'expectació que generen els nostres artistes allà on s'exposen:
 - Dalí: 2a exposició més visitada en la història del Pompidou.
 - Miró: 6a exposició (sobre 57) més visitada des de l'obertura de la Tate Modern, l'any 2000 i una de les exposicions més populars dels darrers anys a la National Gallery of Art de Washington.
- La presència al Saló del Llibre de París:
 - 24 autors presents, en només 3 dies més de 2.000 visitants.
- Les participacions catalanes a les Biennal d'Art i d'Arquitectura de Venècia, que van situar els nostres pavellons entre els més recomanats.
- La cuina catalana, i els seus cuiners, segueixen essent un dels grans referents de lideratge mundial.

- En diferents disciplines, els esportistes catalans, fruit del treball de clubs, federacions i centres de tecnificació, excel·leixen a nivell internacional.

Tenim el nombre més elevat de parlants que ha tingut mai el català, una capacitat d'atracció que genera nous parlants que no la tenen com a llengua habitual, i una presència creixent a Internet.

Tenim l'ambició necessària per tal que el català tingui la presència que li correspon. Per això lluitarem amb força per tal que la realitat de la llengua catalana sigui cada cop més coneguda i reconeguda per la comunitat europea i internacional.

La cultura és progrés en si mateixa: un país culte i creatiu prospera millor. Un país culte és un país preparat i més fort davant de les dificultats i els desafiaments. Un país culte és un país més democràtic, més obert, més respectuós i més tolerant, més competitiu, més europeu i més rellevant en el context global.

B. L'aturada de la destrucció d'ocupació

Aquesta és la dada principal. La més important de totes. La més esperada. I és que els darrers mesos estem veient una sèrie d'indícis que ens porten a pensar que en matèria de destrucció d'ocupació hem tocat fons. Així, el mes de juliol passat vam tenir, per primer cop en 72 mesos, una reducció interanual de l'atur registrat. La millor dada dels darrers 6 anys. Durant el mes d'agost aquesta tendència ha continuat i s'ha intensificat fins a arribar a l'1,8% de reducció en termes d'any a any, el millor agost des de l'any 2000. I tots els indicis porten a dir que el mes de setembre passarà el mateix.

Estem, doncs, davant d'un canvi de tendència pel que fa a destrucció de llocs de treball? Potser és aviat per dir-ho amb rotunditat, però n'hi ha indicis positius.

C. Millora dels resultats escolars i reducció de l'abandonament escolar prematur

La lluita contra el fracàs escolar comença a donar els seus fruits. El curs 2008-2009 el percentatge d'alumnes que es graduaven de l'ESO no arribava al 82% mentre que els alumnes que acabaven el batxillerat era del 78,7%. El curs 2011-2012 ja són el 85% els alumnes que es graduen de l'ESO –tres punts més- i el 83,5% de batxillerat –cinc punts més. Per tant, millor rendiment i més èxit escolar.

La taxa d'abandonament escolar prematur ha anat baixant des del 33,2% de l'any 2008 fins a situar-se per sota del 24% l'any 2012. Estem per sota de la mitjana espanyola (24,9%) però lluny del 12,9% d'abandonament escolar prematur de la Unió Europea. Ens hem fixat un objectiu del 15% per a l'any 2018. Amb la tendència actual, hi podem arribar.

Tant a 4t d'ESO com a 6è de primària, el percentatge d'alumnes amb baix rendiment en competències bàsiques ha disminuït, mentre que els alumnes amb un alt rendiment en aquestes proves ha augmentat. Els alumnes catalans han millorat els seus resultats i això ha estat possible gràcies a l'aplicació de mesures com:

- El desplegament de les competències bàsiques al currículum de primària i secundària en l'àmbit lingüístic i matemàtic.
- L'impuls de la lectura en més de 700 centres implicats en el programa.
- L'augment de les hores lectives de matemàtiques a segon i quart d'ESO (70 hores lectives de matemàtiques més al llarg de l'etapa).
- El manteniment de les proves extraordinàries d'avaluació al setembre a ESO i a batxillerat.
- L'optimització de les matèries optatives, incidint en la necessitat que es destinin a reforçar o ampliar altres matèries curriculars.
- La implicació de les famílies i del professorat en la millora acadèmica.

D. Consolidació i millora d'alguns paràmetres de salut a Catalunya

En primer lloc, m'agradaria destacar una cosa que avui té encara més valor: a Catalunya cap persona queda exclosa del sistema sanitari públic. Aquesta ha estat una decisió volguda del Govern català, i supera el que estableix la normativa espanyola, que preveu l'exclusió d'una part dels ciutadans de la sanitat pública.

En l'àmbit de Salut el Govern ha procurat fer les coses de manera diferent, aplicant una gestió més eficient, que optimitzi els recursos, mantingui els nivells d'atenció i millori alguns resultats.

Els resultats ens avalen, com ho demostra, per exemple, que l'Organització Mundial de la Salut destaca en un dels seus informes les mesures preses a Catalunya per assegurar la sostenibilitat del nostre sistema de salut, com a exemple de mesures eficients en gestió sanitària a Europa. De fet, en aquest informe, tots els exemples que se citen referents a l'Estat espanyol són referències a experiències a Catalunya.

En la línia de la millora, han augmentat els pacients inclosos en el circuit de diagnòstic ràpid del càncer un 6,4% respecte del 2011 (27.801 pacients) i més del 60% han iniciat el tractament abans de 30 dies després del diagnòstic.

El Programa de prevenció i atenció a la cronicitat ha permès reduir la taxa de reingressos hospitalaris en insuficiència cardíaca crònica (ICC) i en malaltia pulmonar obstructiva crònica (MPOC).

Les reclamacions sobre el tracte rebut han baixat un 9% i l'índex de satisfacció de l'usuari es manté en el 8,1 sobre 10.

E. La política de recerca i d'universitats

Tot i la intensa reducció de les partides pressupostàries de l'Estat, la recerca, el desenvolupament i la innovació es consoliden a Catalunya.

Tenim un bon model de recerca científica, com ho demostra la capacitat dels investigadors catalans per captar fons europeus i mundials, la presència de centres de recerca catalans en rànquings internacionals i el volum de publicacions científiques amb aportacions catalanes. Vull destacar que el bon funcionament d'aquest model és fruit de la feina feta durant els darrers 15 anys sobre uns principis compartits per la pràctica totalitat de les forces polítiques que avui som aquí, que han permès consolidar un sistema d'universitats, centres de recerca i instal·lacions científiques d'alt nivell i amb una política de recerca i innovació continuada que té com a denominador comú l'excel·lència, l'obertura i la flexibilitat.

Catalunya se situa com a tercer país de la Unió Europea en nombre de concessions per milió d'habitants en la prestigiosa convocatòria del Consell Europeu de Recerca, i rep en aquest àmbit el 60% dels ajuts concedits en matèria de recerca a nivell de tot l'Estat. Grans resultats, doncs.

Mentre representem un 1,5% de la població europea, els nostres investigadors publiquen el 3% dels articles científics que es fan a Europa, i la seva captació de projectes competitius en peu d'igualtat amb la resta del continent és un 50% superior a la que ens correspondria per població. Aquest èxit ha estat possible gràcies al sistema de centres CERCA, al programa de captació i retenció de talent ICREA i a la construcció en el territori d'unes infraestructures singulars amb capacitat vertebradora.

A partir d'aquí, l'estratègia de futur ve marcada per un gran esforç que caldrà fer per mantenir el que tenim, i utilitzar-ho de base per fer el gran salt en la transferència de valor a la societat, molt especialment la transferència de coneixement al món empresarial, i d'aquí a la creació d'ocupació. La ciència pot ser un dels motors més dinàmics i sòlids per al futur proper de l'economia catalana.

En l'àmbit universitari crec que també s'està fent bona feina. Hem reestructurat l'oferta universitària per fer-la més eficient i de més qualitat i hem fet possible, malgrat les dificultats de l'entorn, mantenir l'accessibilitat i la universalitat de la universitat pública.

Durant el curs passat, 2012-2013, malgrat l'inevitable increment del preu dels crèdits, es van mantenir estables les matriculacions a les universitats catalanes.

En aquest curs 2013-2014, per primera vegada es mantenen els preus dels crèdits universitaris per als estudis de grau i es destinaran 30 milions d'euros a beques equitat. En concret, aquest curs s'amplien un 5% els trams de renda familiar computable i de patrimoni de la unitat familiar per tal que les beques equitat arribin a més estudiants. Ningú ha de quedar fora de la universitat per motius econòmics.

En captació de talent, hem dut a terme la primera convocatòria internacional del Programa Serra Hunter per a la contractació, sota criteris d'excel·lència internacional, de personal acadèmic permanent a les universitats catalanes. Hem convocat 75 places, a les quals s'han presentat 740 sol·licituds de tot arreu.

La UAB és considerada la millor universitat estatal segons el rànquing "The Times Higher Education 100 under 50", que classifica les millors universitats del món amb menys de 50 anys d'història.

La UB lidera també les universitats espanyoles en dos dels més prestigiosos rànquings internacionals, el de Leiden i el de l'URAP (University Ranking by Academic Performance).

F. Millores en algunes polítiques de benestar

Una de les fites principals ha estat la signatura del pacte per a la infància el 19 de juliol passat per més de 69 entitats. S'ha treballat en estreta col·laboració amb les entitats, i és un compromís de tota la societat de fer passos endavant a favor de la infància per fer que guanyi centralitat i sigui més visible a la nostra societat.

Aquest pacte és un salt qualitatiu en les polítiques d'infància, un projecte ambiciós que no només ha de donar eines per a protegir i atendre aquest col·lectiu en situació de risc o desamparament sinó que inclou mesures de prevenció, foment de la participació i promoció dels drets, deures i oportunitats dels infants i adolescents.

Un segon element a destacar en aquest àmbit de les polítiques de benestar és l'esforç per garantir el sistema de prestacions i ajuts per a aquelles persones i famílies en situació de major vulnerabilitat, per cobrir les seves necessitats bàsiques. Quan ha sigut necessari s'ha concertat amb iniciatives conjuntes entre els ajuntaments, la Generalitat i les entitats distribuïdores d'aliments, com la taula de distribució solidària.

En la mateixa línia s'ha fet efectiva la signatura del Contracte Programa de Serveis Socials amb els ens locals, i s'ha mantingut la partida pressupostària, 183 M€, com un instrument de cooperació i col·laboració amb els ajuntaments, consells comarcals i altres entitats supramunicipals que finança, per atendre, entre d'altres:

- els serveis socials bàsics (atenció domiciliària, equips bàsics d'atenció social, centres oberts per a infants i adolescents, etc.).

- les ajudes d'urgència social, per atendre les despeses bàsiques de la llar i d'aliments.
- els serveis socials especialitzats adreçats a famílies amb infants de curta edat, gent gran, persones amb discapacitat, infants i adolescents, persones amb problemes de drogodependències, etc.

No cal recordar que, en època de fortes restriccions pressupostàries, tot programa que manté la seva dotació econòmica significa una prioritat molt destacada.

G. Reducció del sector públic de la Generalitat

Quan vàrem assumir la funció de govern a principis del 2011 hi havia 273 entitats de la Generalitat amb participació majoritària (en data 1 de gener de 2011, entitats amb participació majoritària). En data d'avui, aquesta xifra s'ha reduït fins a 235 entitats, un 14% menys, i s'estan tramitant actualment prop d'una cinquantena d'operacions que ens permetran a principis de l'any vinent assolir el 30% de la reducció del sector públic, amb una reducció del nombre d'entitats fins a les 191. En poc més de tres anys haurem superat l'objectiu que ens havíem marcat per a una legislatura sencera.

H. Millors indicadors en seguretat i justícia

En els últims anys, i malgrat la situació de crisi, es manté estable la percepció de seguretat ciutadana entre la població. I amb les dades de què disposem, millora la seguretat en diferents àmbits:

- Segons l'Enquesta de Seguretat Pública de Catalunya, amb dades de 2012, puja per tercer any consecutiu la percepció de seguretat.
- Es redueix el nombre d'homicidis (87 l'any 2010, 81 el 2011 i 75 el 2012) i disminueix un 50% la prostitució a les carreteres catalanes.
- També millora la seguretat viària, amb una tendència decreixent del nombre de morts a les carreteres des de l'any 2007 (amb dades de gener a agost, passa de 227 morts el 2007 a 100 en el que va del 2013).
- Pel que fa als accidents laborals, s'han anat reduint progressivament els darrers anys i s'ha passat d'un índex d'accidents laborals amb baixa per cada 1.000 treballadors, de 53 al 2008 a 30 al 2012. Pel que fa als accidents mortals la xifra ha passat de 3,76 a 2,77 per mil.

Algunes millores s'estenen igualment al camp de la justícia, com per exemple el programa que possibilita la presentació de més de 100.000

demandes civils i altres escrits via telemàtica a tots els òrgans judicials catalans. Es tracta d'una novetat reconeguda a tot l'Estat. I en el mateix sentit de lideratge, Catalunya és capdavantera en la implementació de la nova Oficina Judicial i el Programa d'Expedient Electrònic.

I. Bona evolució de les activitats agràries

També les infraestructures i les inversions en el món rural són cabdals, i en aquest sentit el Govern ha aprovat l'avantprojecte de la Llei del sòl agrari per tal de garantir l'eficàcia de l'activitat productiva dels espais agraris. La indústria agroalimentària és un dels sectors estratègics del país i el Govern aposta decididament pel seu impuls. Durant el 2013 el Govern ha fixat les prioritats per als més de 350M€ en ajuts al sector agrari i ramader, i seguirà vetllant per la defensa del sector català en el marc de la reforma de la Política Agrària Comunitària. Estem elaborant el nou Programa de Desenvolupament Rural 2014-2020, i hem aprovat el Pla estratègic de la recerca, el desenvolupament i la innovació del sector agroalimentari, per millorar la competitivitat internacional d'un sector que està evolucionant de manera francament positiva. I per fer més atractiu el món agrari per a la gent jove.

Vull recordar que durant dos anys consecutius el Govern de la Generalitat ha aconseguit avançar el pagament de la PAC als pagesos i ramaders catalans i ja els anuncio que en les properes setmanes pagarem els 135M€ corresponents a la campanya del 2013.

J. Intensificació de l'accés de les famílies a l'habitatge

Tot i la delicada situació que viuen moltes famílies i joves, tant pel que fa referència a la pèrdua del propi habitatge, com en la dificultat d'accés, en aquest àmbit hi ha una destacable acció de govern que voldria posar en relleu.

El Govern de la Generalitat ha pres la decisió de destinar 200 M€ en quatre anys als programes socials d'habitatge, per fer possible que 32.000 famílies en risc d'exclusió residencial rebin, dins del 2013, un suport directe d'algun dels programes socials de l'Agència de l'Habitatge de Catalunya; que 24.000 famílies més ja siguin usuàries dels pisos del parc públic d'habitatge o bé hagin accedit a un habitatge captat del mercat privat a través de les borses d'habitatge implantades en el territori; i que un total de 18.000 llars tinguin una prestació d'ajut al pagament del lloguer.

En el darrer any i mig haurem lliurat més de 4.500 habitatges i durant aquest 2013 el 15% dels usuaris del parc públic d'habitatge, unes 2.000 famílies, rebran un ajut suplementari per pagar el lloguer d'aquests habitatges que ja de per se tenen uns lloguers reduïts.

Per poder ampliar el parc públic d'habitatge s'ha fet un esforç important per reduir el nombre d'habitatges buits de la Generalitat a través d'un Pla de

Xoc, que ha permès reconvertir els habitatges de compra a lloguer amb opció de compra, rebaixar els preus dels lloguers en un 25% de mitjana i instaurar un règim d'adjudicacions més àgil, amb convocatòries permanentment obertes. A l'inici de 2011 els habitatges buits eren 3.264 i en l'actualitat són al voltant de 1.260 habitatges, ubicats majoritàriament en municipis sense demanda acreditada. 2.000 habitatges públics que eren buits i ara estan ocupats.

Per pal·liar el drama dels desnonaments calen instruments de reacció immediata i, per això, el Govern ha posat en funcionament una línia d'ajuts per a famílies que han patit la pèrdua del seu primer habitatge per impossibilitat de pagar-lo.

Fruit d'aquests programes d'actuació immediata puc anunciar-los que al llarg d'aquest any i amb dades de 15 de setembre, hem evitat un total de 1.914 desnonaments a tot Catalunya. Això suposa que hem evitat un 30% més de desnonaments que al mateix període de l'any 2012.

Entrem ara en exemples d'àmbits en els quals no aconseguim millorar prou, o fins i tot empitjorem. També n'he triat 10, com en l'apartat anterior.

K. Persones en risc de pobresa

L'increment del risc de pobresa és la realitat més punyent de la crisi, és el rostre de les persones amb major dificultat. Sense cap mena de dubte és el principal repte que tenim, no només com a Govern, sinó com a país i com a societat.

Dit això, m'agradaria indicar-los que la pobresa té elements estructurals i no només és fruit de la crisi que vivim. En efecte, l'any 2011, en plena crisi, afectava el 19,1% de la població catalana; però el 2006, en plena expansió, era del 19%. Atenció, per tant, com abordem i jutgem el problema, i com enfoquem el repte.

En qualsevol cas, la xifra de pobresa segueix sent molt alta a Catalunya. No voler veure-ho seria una irresponsabilitat. I no fer res encara ho seria més.

Durant aquest 2013, el Govern destinarà més de 480 milions d'euros a la lluita contra la pobresa i l'exclusió social. Aquest pressupost és dels molt pocs que no ha disminuït.

En l'àmbit legislatiu, hem iniciat la tramitació de la llei marc de la protecció social, que pretén blindar el nostre estat del benestar i prioritzar el manteniment de la cohesió social del país en l'actual context de crisi.

També dotem enguany el món local amb 183 M€ per tal de finançar serveis socials bàsics especialitzats, la lluita contra la pobresa, els programes de reforç a la cohesió social i la promoció de la igualtat.

Aquest 2013 finalitzarem l'elaboració del Pacte per a la lluita contra la pobresa a Catalunya, que inclourà, un cop revisades i actualitzades, les mesures previstes al Document de lluita contra la pobresa i per a la inclusió social a Catalunya, que formaran l'eix central del Pla d'Acció, la gran majoria d'elles ja iniciades.

Hem garantit la màxima cobertura de les beques escolars per a infants i adolescents per assegurar l'alimentació bàsica durant el període no lectiu. De cara a aquest curs, hem incrementat les beques menjador amb una previsió de 34M€ per tal de garantir que tots els alumnes amb privació alimentària tinguin una beca.

L. Un atur juvenil massa elevat

La taxa d'atur entre els joves de 16 a 24 anys, durant el segon trimestre del 2013, és del 53,9%, segons l'Enquesta de Població Activa. Això vol dir que dels prop de 294.000 joves que són actius, 158.000 no troben feina. És una dada contundent. Cal tenir en compte que aquest és un problema comú a tota Europa, dissortadament. L'atur juvenil normalment dobla l'atur general als països de la Unió Europea. Tenint en compte que tant a Espanya com a Catalunya la taxa d'atur és molt més elevada, la d'atur juvenil segueix la mateixa correlació. Celebrem que la Unió Europea hagi previst una Estratègia pròpia per l'ocupació juvenil, ja era hora. Confiem que el repartiment dels fons europeus que rebrà Espanya per combatre l'atur juvenil siguin distribuïts amb criteris proporcionals a la taxa de desocupació.

Mentre arriben aquests nous recursos europeus, el Govern ha aprovat el programa InserJoves, adreçat a persones en atur menors de 30 anys i a estudiants, la majoria dels quals combinen formació i contractació. Calculem que aquest programa beneficiarà directament més de 33.000 joves, i hem garantit que, d'aquests, 3.607 accedeixin a un contracte de treball a través dels programes del Servei d'Ocupació de Catalunya, "Joves per l'Ocupació" i "Fem Ocupació per a Joves". Confiem poder incrementar aquesta xifra de beneficiaris gràcies a la reserva d'un 25% de les places en la resta de programes del SOC, la qual cosa hauria de permetre que a finals d'any un 50% dels joves aturats –de tots els nivells acadèmics– accedeixi a l'anomenada Garantia Juvenil, promoguda per la Comissió Europea i que comporta que qualsevol persona d'entre 16 i 24 anys en situació d'atur hagi d'accedir a una oferta formativa, de pràctiques o laboral en un període màxim de 4 anys.

A aquestes dues mesures per lluitar contra l'atur juvenil el Govern hi destinarà 50M€.

A aquesta mesura s'hi ha d'afegir la resta de programes que el SOC ja aplica per als joves, tant en l'àmbit de l'orientació com en el de la formació.

M. Lluita contra l'atur de llarga durada i majors de 45 anys

Un altre dels elements més preocupants és que de les persones que busquen feina, un 58,4% (510.000 persones segons l'EPA) fa més d'un any que es troben a l'atur. I un percentatge molt elevat d'aquestes té més de 45 anys. Per ajudar aquestes persones, a banda dels programes tradicionals del SOC, s'ha impulsat el programa de col·laboració entre el SOC i les agències de col·locació. A partir d'ara les Oficines de Treball podran derivar aturats de més de 30 anys o en situació d'atur de llarga durada a les agències de col·locació amb què la Generalitat hagi signat un conveni. Aquestes agències rebran un màxim de 1.200 euros de subvenció per cada persona inserida de nou en el mercat laboral i que es mantingui contractada mig any després.

El Govern destinarà enguany prop de 170 M€ a diferents programes de formació i de polítiques actives d'ocupació amb l'objectiu de beneficiar directament més de 418.000 persones aturades. Aquests fons, però, encara estan bloquejats a la taula del ministre d'Hisenda. I som a 25 de setembre. L'any passat es van desbloquejar el 27 de desembre. Sembla broma, però és real.

N. La protecció a la dependència: el problema d'una llei mal dissenyada des de l'inici

Una llei que empitjorant amb la gestió que els successius governs espanyols, primer del PSOE i després del PP, han fet del seu contingut.

Un recordatori: la llei deia que la dependència es finançaria a parts iguals entre l'Estat i les administracions autonòmiques. Això ho diu la llei estatal. Quin ha estat el resultat? Doncs que l'any 2012- i no és el primer any- la Generalitat ha suportat el 79,12% del finançament de la dependència mentre que l'Estat només n'ha assumit el 20,88%. Una deslleialtat institucional immensa, que colpeja persones vulnerables i molt necessitades.

Tot i així, i amb totes les complicacions que l'Estat ens posa en un àmbit tan prioritari com és el de la dependència, hem aconseguit que un 10% més de beneficiaris hagin pogut accedir a les prestacions en els últims 12 mesos (al conjunt de l'Estat ha baixat el nombre de beneficiaris un 1,37%) i és a Catalunya on més s'ha reduït l'espera per rebre ajuts socials.

És suficient? No, però crec que és important reconèixer la tasca que s'ha dut a terme per poder fer front a aquestes prestacions tenint en compte la manca de recursos de la qual hem disposat i que ens pertoquen segons llei, que evidentment s'incompleix per part del Govern espanyol.

O. Creixement de les llistes d'espera per a intervencions quirúrgiques no urgents

Les mesures d'eficiència i d'equilibri pressupostari han permès assegurar la sostenibilitat del sistema sanitari i garantir l'atenció a la població. Això ha requerit una prioritització i ha fet que, tal com vam anunciar, s'incrementessin les llistes d'espera per a intervencions quirúrgiques no urgents durant l'any 2011.

Tot i que l'any 2012 es va revertir en part aquest creixement, aquest és un àmbit en el qual hem de seguir treballant per millorar. Així, el Pla d'atenció als malalts crònics ens ha de permetre controlar millor aquests malalts, evitar que empitjorin i hagin d'ingressar als hospitals i destinar aquests recursos a intervencions quirúrgiques d'altres pacients que ho requereixen.

P. Insuficient coneixement de l'anglès i de llengües estrangeres

Un bon nivell de llengües estrangeres, i de l'anglès en particular, és fonamental per a l'èxit i la projecció d'un país com Catalunya.

En les proves de competències bàsiques dels alumnes de 6è de primària i de 4t d'ESO els resultats d'anglès no milloren com en la resta d'àrees (milloren en català, en castellà i en matemàtiques). En concret, a 6è de primària el percentatge d'alumnes amb baix nivell d'anglès se situa encara en el 27,4%, i el d'alumnes amb alt nivell arriba al 32,3%, però aquests resultats no són equiparables a la resta de matèries.

Aquests resultats ens han d'empènyer a fer les coses de manera diferent. Concretament en aquest nou curs es sumaran 52 centres als prop de 1.400 que imparteixen continguts curriculars en anglès.

Q. Retards en els pagaments a proveïdors

Els problemes de tresoreria que ens afecten, fruit de l'actual tancament dels mercats, d'un model de finançament que deixa la clau de la caixa en mans del Govern central i de la situació de dèficit fiscal que ens impedeix disposar del conjunt de recursos que Catalunya genera, provoca que tinguem problemes excessius d'endarreriment en els pagaments a proveïdors.

Proveïdors que poden ser tan sensibles com els hospitals o les residències concertades, les farmàcies, les entitats del tercer sector social o moltes petites i mitjanes empreses.

Hem instat el Govern de l'Estat a posar en marxa mecanismes de pagament com l'ICO-proveedores que, juntament amb el FLA, constitueixen solucions transitòries al problema.

Un tracte fiscal just, juntament amb el compliment de les obligacions de l'Estat amb Catalunya en matèria econòmica des del punt de vista de la

lleialtat institucional, posarien fi a aquesta situació injusta i no desitjada per ningú.

En aquest terreny, el Govern reconeix que els ajuntaments i els ens locals del país estan assumint una part significativa del retard en els pagaments. Tenim a dia d'avui un deute amb ells d'uns 600 M€, que en part, només en part, liquidarem abans de finalitzar l'any.

R. Davallada de la inversió pública

Un dels principals impactes causats per la crisi ha estat la pràctica desaparició de la inversió pública nova. Sóc conscient que no podem mantenir aquesta realitat gaire temps, però no és menys cert que en un moment que calia establir prioritats clares, altres elements més sensibles com són les polítiques socials han passat per davant de la inversió en obra pública.

Segons dades de la Cambra Oficial de Contractistes d'Obra de Catalunya, la licitació d'obra pública i edificació a Catalunya ha caigut un 90% des del seu màxim històric l'any 2008. Si tenim en compte únicament la licitació feta per la Generalitat, la caiguda és encara més dràstica: el 2012 es va licitar el 5% del que es va licitar el 2008. Afortunadament, i sobretot per l'esforç del món local, aquesta tendència negativa es comença a revertir aquest any 2013, però som on som.

En la davallada dràstica de la nova inversió no només hi pesa la recessió, sinó també el que ara ens toca pagar d'inversions fetes en anys anteriors, però totes a crèdit.

L'enorme factura que impliquen aquests finançaments anomenats diferits (un 40% del pressupost del Departament de Territori i Sostenibilitat per al 2012 i un global de 8.000 M€ a pagar fins a l'any 2041) deixen poc marge pressupostari al Govern per impulsar noves inversions en les condicions actuals.

Això ha comportat l'aturada, revisió i priorització de molts dels projectes que estaven en marxa o s'havien d'iniciar, i procedir a una revisió de costos per evitar obres desproporcionades d'altres temps i prioritzar aquelles inversions que poden millorar la competitivitat i la cohesió del país en el seu conjunt.

Deixin-me donar-los tres exemples d'obres que s'han repensat per treure'n el màxim profit: la línia 9 de Metro, el Canal Segarra-Garrigues i l'ampliació dels FGC a Terrassa i Sabadell. En el primer cas, s'ha hagut de deixar la construcció del tram central per a més endavant, però s'ha prioritzat la posada en servei del ramal entre l'aeroport i l'estació de Collblanc, un tram estratègic que permetrà accedir a la Fira i a l'aeroport des del centre de la ciutat de Barcelona.

També en el cas del canal Segarra-Garrigues, una infraestructura important per a l'economia de les terres de Lleida, s'ha anat endavant amb l'obra acabant amb les extremes dificultats financeres que pesaven sobre ella i priorititzant les inversions per posar noves terres en regadiu.

En el tercer cas, s'ha prioritzat la inversió en transport públic al Vallès Occidental.

S. Reactivar el crèdit a les empreses

Aquest és un dels elements claus per sortir de la crisi i, malgrat això, el crèdit a l'activitat productiva va caient en termes interanuals des de la meitat de l'any 2009.

Com estem actuant, tot i els limitats instruments de què disposem?

Durant el 2013, l'Institut Català de Finances ha impulsat una línia de préstec a pimes i autònoms per import de 337 M€ que s'afegeixen als 1.742 M€ de finançament que l'ICF ha facilitat a les empreses en els dos darrers anys. En els sis primers mesos d'aquest any, 764 empreses s'han beneficiat d'aquests préstecs. El nostre objectiu és assolir, d'aquí a finals d'any, els 500 M€ en préstecs i avals per a pimes i autònoms als quals cal afegir 160 M€ més en l'àmbit del capital risc. I la nostra voluntat és que aquesta xifra arribi als 600M€ l'any vinent. És el que està a l'abast de la Generalitat però són xifres clarament insuficients atesa la magnitud del problema que tenim davant.

T. Caiguda del consum intern

El comerç està patint especialment els efectes de la crisi sobre el consum intern, com també succeeix en el cas del turisme interior.

Les dades de què disposem ens indiquen que entre el 2008 i el 2013 s'han perdut a Catalunya 3.613 establiments comercials, un 3,6% del total, dels quals 2.245 han tancat de gener de 2012 a gener de 2013.

Per part del Govern continuarem defensant amb totes les nostres eines un model comercial propi i no acceptarem les pretensions desreguladores de l'Administració central. Per aquest motiu és intenció del Govern de Catalunya no només aprovar una regulació pròpia d'horaris comercials (actualment en tràmit parlamentari) sinó una llei general del comerç i dels serveis que articuli un model coherent en el qual tots els operadors hi tinguin cabuda, en el marc d'una competència lleial.

He intentat subratllar deu aspectes que entenc que milloren, encara que no hagin arribat al punt desitjable, i deu en els quals entenc que no anem prou bé. Entendran que per part d'un Govern fer aquest exercici no és fàcil, perquè normalment en aquest tipus d'intervencions se subratlla només allò que va bé. Deu que milloren i deu que no ho fan. Pot facilitar el debat, però

en qualsevol cas només intenta demostrar que el Govern és plenament conscient de fins a quin punt tenim un munt de temes, que no només són aquests, perquè aquesta no és una llista exhaustiva, en els quals no aconseguim tirar endavant com caldria.

Abans d'encarar els darrers capítols d'aquesta intervenció voldria aturar-me per descriure breument alguns grans projectes que el Govern impulsa i que inspiraran la nostra acció en el transcurs de la legislatura, que com saben acaba l'any 2016 si no decideixo convocar eleccions anticipades, com vaig fer en l'anterior mandat.

Són els següents:

1. Nova industrialització, o reindustrialització de Catalunya

Indústria diversificada, com ja tenim, però més innovadora i més exportadora. El Govern ha aprovat recentment una estratègia industrial que identifica les especialitzacions de la indústria catalana amb més potencial de creixement. Aquesta estratègia industrial impulsa programes específics per augmentar-ne la competitivitat, entre els quals destaquen el de clústers, el d'innovació i, molt especialment el de reactivació per trobar sortida a empreses que passen dificultats i facilitar la implantació de noves empreses industrials.

2. Nou model de formació professional

Afortunadament, la formació professional cada cop té més demanda i acceptació a casa nostra. Cada cop es veu més com un bon camí per tenir feina. Amb les matriculacions del curs acadèmic actual, es pot comprovar que ja som a la mitjana europea; en efecte, enguany gairebé un 40% dels estudis postobligatoris es fan als cicles formatius de grau mitjà, i un 60% al batxillerat. Ens situem així, des d'aquest punt de vista de la proporció, en el grup de països europeus com ara Suècia, Dinamarca, Finlàndia o França.

Aquest curs 2013-2014 estendrem també la formació professional dual i es triplicaran els alumnes participants –que passen de 590 a un total de 2.116-, així com els centres participants –de 25 a 42-, i com les empreses implicades –que són 220 respecte de les 118 del curs passat-. Una bona línia amb xifres insuficients.

3. Reforma de l'Administració pública

Fa poques setmanes, coneixíem la proposta del Fòrum d'Entitats per a la Reforma de l'Administració -que aplega cambres de comerç, escoles de negocis, entitats de tercer sector i altres entitats representatives de la societat civil-. Una proposta que per cert coincidia amb molts dels punts proposats pel Consell Assessor per a la Reactivació Econòmica i amb l'informe que va encarregar la vicepresidenta a la Comissió d'Experts per a la Reforma de l'Administració pública.

Confio que aquesta legislatura sigui la que doni llum a la necessària reforma de les nostres administracions, començant per la de la Generalitat. Ara com ara, la Generalitat és la nostra principal estructura d'Estat; del seu

funcionament en depèn una bona part de la competitivitat del nostre teixit productiu i la qualitat dels serveis públics del país.

Una de les reformes més imminents és la del Servei d'Ocupació de Catalunya, el SOC. El Govern va aprovar la setmana passada l'inici de la tramitació de l'Avantprojecte de Llei de creació d'ocupació i del Servei d'Ocupació de Catalunya, que arribarà properament a aquest Parlament. L'objectiu d'aquesta iniciativa legislativa és que el sistema d'ocupació de Catalunya esdevingui un sistema modern, que doni un bon servei a les persones en atur i a les empreses.

Altres projectes endegats sobre reforma de les administracions són el de governs locals, que va entrar al Parlament a finals de juliol; i dos més en els que el Govern està treballant i que afecten a les finances del món local i la simplificació i millora de tràmits i de regulacions sectorials dels ajuntaments.

4. Connectivitat i mobilitat

El gran projecte en què continuem donant passos en la direcció adequada és el corredor ferroviari del Mediterrani.

En aquesta línia hem presentat al Ministeri de Foment la proposta de conversió a ample mixt de la via Tarragona-Castellbisbal, que permetria maximitzar les possibilitats del Port de Tarragona i la capacitat del corredor del Mediterrani per moure mercaderies.

Aquesta actuació consisteix en la instal·lació d'un tercer fil a la via per tal de permetre la circulació de trens en ample europeu. Si aconseguim que les obres s'executin en el calendari previst, podríem tenir aquesta connexió acabada l'any 2015.

Fa pocs dies vam signar amb l'Estat el conveni per a la construcció definitiva dels accessos ferroviaris al Port de Barcelona. Tot i que finalment el 50% del cost de la infraestructura anirà a càrrec del mateix Port de Barcelona i que arriba amb onze anys de retard, aquest fet ens mostra la capacitat de fixar objectius comuns i de fer efectiu el diàleg amb les diferents administracions per arribar a acords satisfactoris per a l'economia i el teixit productiu del nostre país.

Un altre exemple de la nostra voluntat de prioritzar infraestructures estratègiques, malgrat els dèficits inversors de l'Estat, és l'aeroport del Prat. Fa pocs dies coneixíem les dades del mes d'agost: l'aeroport de Barcelona batia el seu propi rècord amb 3,9 milions de viatgers, i per primera vegada passava per davant de Barajas. Cal, però, intensificar la connectivitat intercontinental des de Barcelona.

En l'àmbit de la mobilitat i del transport públic, un dels projectes més emblemàtics d'aquesta legislatura serà la posada en marxa de la T-mobilitat. Aquest nou sistema, basat en una targeta sense contacte, suposarà una revolució en la relació amb l'usuari i en la gestió de l'oferta i la demanda, com va suposar molts anys enrere la implantació de les tarifes integrades.

5. Model energètic i economia verda

Enguany s'ha començat a aplicar el Pla de l'Energia i el Canvi Climàtic 2012-2020, que es va aprovar el 2012. El Pla té com a objectiu impulsar l'estalvi i l'eficiència energètica i l'aprofitament de les energies renovables, així com també assegurar la disponibilitat del subministrament energètic, desenvolupar les infraestructures energètiques de Catalunya i fomentar les activitats en R+D energètics.

En el marc de l'actual procés de reforma del sector energètic, el Govern català ha presentat una Proposta de nou model energètic en l'àmbit estatal que aposta per mantenir les polítiques de foment de les energies renovables i de cogeneració, presenta un nou model de mercat elèctric i reivindica un nou marc competencial.

El Govern també està treballant en l'elaboració d'un pla estratègic sobre l'ús i l'explotació de la biomassa a Catalunya. És un sector en creixement i amb fortes potencialitats però que requereix la implantació d'una estratègia comuna que beneficiï proveïdors, productors i consumidors i, alhora, es realitzi amb el màxim respecte i sostenibilitat del territori.

En paral·lel al model energètic, abans de finals d'any el Govern aprovarà un nou projecte legislatiu sobre canvi climàtic; se n'impulsarà un altre sobre biodiversitat; s'intensificarà el Pla de millora de qualitat de l'aire; s'implantarà el Distintiu de garantia de qualitat ambiental de flotes de vehicles i la guia de compra verda de vehicles; i es desplegarà un Pla d'Economia Verda, que fomentarà la col·laboració entre empreses i administracions i ajudarà a la seva internacionalització.

6. Un pacte de país per la infància i la pobresa

Crec que ens hem de felicitar tots plegats per l'enorme consens que es va saber trobar en l'elaboració del Pacte per a la Infància de Catalunya. Vull recordar que aquest Pacte va comptar amb el suport d'una setantena d'entitats, agents socials i econòmics, institucions i partits polítics. És la bona línia.

En la mateixa línia, s'està treballant el Pacte per la lluita contra la Pobresa, que ens permeti com a societat i independentment de qui governi tenir un bon full de ruta per disminuir el risc de pobresa a Catalunya, especialment quan l'economia es recuperi i es puguin destinar més recursos públics a aquest principal objectiu de país.

7. El Pacte Nacional de Salut

S'està impulsant un Pacte de Salut entre el Govern, els grups parlamentaris, els agents econòmics i socials, i els professionals del món sanitari per tal de promoure un consens polític i social que, en les circumstàncies actuals, garanteixi la sostenibilitat, la qualitat i la igualtat del sistema sanitari públic català, un model que és bo i que funciona i que volem que perduri. Es tracta de poder permetre a tots els ciutadans que viuen a Catalunya, viure més anys i de forma més saludable, sense diferenciació per raó de sexe, de

procedència o de situació socioeconòmica. Per assolir aquest objectiu cal que les polítiques de salut impregnin tota l'acció del Govern.

Un dels grans actius del nostre model de benestar és el sistema de salut que hem construït en els darrers trenta anys, per tan, entre tots plegats. L'ofegament de les finances públiques catalanes pot esquerdar el model, i precisament per això cal preservar-lo del combat polític i garantir com, entre tots, el defensem i el millorem.

8. Un nou model d'hisenda pròpia

Una hisenda no és només una Agència Tributària. Una hisenda pública moderna és molt més que un òrgan administratiu encarregat de recaptar els impostos que paguen els ciutadans.

Al parlar d'un nou model d'hisenda parlo d'un model de relacions que acabin generant confiança entre els ciutadans i les ciutadanes de Catalunya i això només s'aconseguirà des d'una gran col·laboració entre els agents involucrats en el sistema tributari. En primer lloc, amb els ciutadans en tant que contribuents, i també amb el teixit empresarial, que és l'encarregat de recaptar molts tributs i lliurar-los al tresor públic. En segon lloc, amb el conjunt d'intermediaris fiscals que ajuden als contribuents a complir amb les seves obligacions. I finalment amb l'agència tributària, que ha de vetllar per fer efectiu el compliment de les obligacions tributàries.

Tenim, ara, la possibilitat de bastir un nou model d'hisenda pública, eficaç i eficient, obert i transparent, que confia en el conjunt dels seus contribuents. Un model similar al que funciona en països europeus avançats i amb alta consciència de compliment de les obligacions fiscals, com ara Suècia, Dinamarca o Holanda. Un model basat en la proximitat, en la col·laboració i en l'eficiència. Amb normes clares i simples i amb procediments administratius clars i que donin garanties.

9. Catalunya, terra de talent

El futur creixement econòmic vindrà donat per la reactivació de sectors clau com la indústria, però també per l'aportació de valor afegit i la transformació de coneixement en activitat productiva. Desenvolupar Catalunya com a terra de talent i creativitat és un element clau que ens ha de permetre guanyar competitivitat en el futur.

El talent i la creativitat han estat factors clau per ser referents en àmbits tradicionals com l'arquitectura, la literatura, el disseny, la gastronomia, l'alimentació, el tèxtil; però també en sectors emergents com les telecomunicacions, la indústria de l'audiovisual, la del videojoc, la telefonia mòbil, el cinema d'animació, les arts escèniques, i les indústries de la llengua i del patrimoni.

Aquesta predisposició per al talent està facilitant no només l'aparició de noves empreses al voltant d'aquests sectors sinó l'atracció de talent exterior que veu en el nostre país un hàbitat procliu al desenvolupament de la creativitat i el disseny.

10. Catalunya, tradició de concertació i de col·laboració entre públic i privat
Aquests darrers dies, hem vist com un país ric, productiu i benestant com Holanda, amb un govern entre liberals i socialistes, llançava un missatge potent: no podem, deien ells, sostenir l'estat del benestar com l'hem conegut fins ara. I afegien: l'haurem de fer evolucionar, si el volem garantir, implicant molt més la societat en la seva gestió. Què ens diuen, doncs, els holandesos en aquests moments? Que cal un model de coresponsabilitat entre administracions i ciutadania, entre els que tenen dret a un servei i els que tenen el deure de garantir-lo. Dit per un país com Holanda, que està millor que nosaltres, té valor. És un missatge que no hem d'oblidar.

En el nostre cas, aquest model de concertació i de coresponsabilitat el tenim ben forjat. Forma part de la nostra tradició, gairebé de la nostra identitat. Ara ens cal donar valor a aquest model, que altres, més ben situats que nosaltres, aspiren a construir perquè no el tenen o no el tenen tant com nosaltres. Que no ens passi que allò en què anem per davant es vegi més com un llast que com un avantatge.

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4. REGENERACIÓ DEMOCRÀTICA

El tercer gran àmbit d'actuació d'aquest Govern és el que ha d'ajudar a la necessària regeneració democràtica i a recuperar per part de la ciutadania la confiança en les seves institucions.

Ens trobem en un moment en què la confiança entre ciutadania i institucions travessa un dels seus moments més baixos. Aspectes com la percepció de manca de transparència en els procediments de l'Administració, les sospites de corrupció, de nepotisme, d'amiguisme o d'espionatge, l'insuficient nivell de rendiment de comptes per part dels responsables polítics i institucions, la lentitud de la justícia, tot ha contribuït a generar un sentiment de desconfiança per part de la ciutadania cap a les institucions públiques i cap als partits polítics. Algunes d'aquestes coses s'acaben demostrant certes, altres falses. El mal, però, ja està fet.

La confiança és un valor que triga molt a guanyar-se i en canvi es pot malmetre ràpidament. Per això, caldrà que regnerem el nostre sistema democràtic des de dins en tot allò que faci falta, amb plena convicció i fermesa en les decisions. També caldrà, però, explicar amb determinació tot allò que funciona correctament, que des del punt de vista del servei públic és immensament majoritari. I gairebé sempre silencià.

Per ajudar a canviar i millorar aquest clima creat vers l'actuació pública i part dels seus representants, vaig convocar durant el mes de febrer passat dues cimeres amb els principals representants dels organismes de control institucional del nostre país. Arran d'aquestes mateixes vaig proposar un paquet de 51 mesures per a la regeneració democràtica del país. Sis mesos

després, pràcticament totes les que afecten a transparència i la contractació pública estan endegades.

La més potent i ambiciosa és el portal de la transparència. Acompleix 78 dels 80 indicadors establerts per l'organització Transparència Internacional, i la nostra voluntat és que es converteixi en un referent internacional en matèria de transparència.

Pel que fa als dos indicadors que manquen per incorporar, s'està treballant en el que afecta la contractació menor, és a dir, els contractes inferiors a 18.000 euros, a fi de poder facilitar l'accés a la informació per a les persones que acreditin un interès concret; l'altre, el codi ètic, està elaborat i en les properes setmanes serà aprovat pel Govern.

A més d'aquests 80 indicadors establerts per l'organització Transparència Internacional, el Govern va decidir de motu proprio afegir 63 indicadors més, de manera que assolirem un total de 143 indicadors de transparència i rendiment de comptes. Amb això ens situarem a la banda alta dels països qualitativament avançats.

Altres mesures que ja hem aplicat durant aquest any en matèria de transparència i de contractació pública són les següents:

- Reforç de les funcions de l'Oficina de Supervisió i Avaluació de la Contractació Pública, que seran, entre d'altres, establir directrius als departaments i entitats del sector públic de la Generalitat per incrementar la transparència; fomentar l'ús del procediment obert; fer accessible la informació a la ciutadania o incrementar l'elaboració i difusió d'informes sobre la contractació pública.
- Creació del Tribunal Català de Contractes del Sector Públic. Suposa la transformació de l'Òrgan Administratiu de Recursos Contractuals (OARCC), amb l'objectiu de reforçar les garanties de control i la transparència en matèria de contractació pública. Deixarà de ser un òrgan unipersonal per estar format com a tribunal per tres persones.
- Confecció de l'avantprojecte de llei per a la transparència i la sostenibilitat del sector de la comunicació. La nova llei afronta els objectius d'afavorir la sostenibilitat del sector de la comunicació en l'actual context de crisi econòmica, reforçar els mitjans públics i afavorir la seva independència. Es proposen modificacions orientades a la simplificació i la racionalització administrativa que inclouen canvis en el règim retributiu dels membres de la CCMA i el CAC.

També els vull recordar que tenim dues ponències conjuntes en aquesta cambra per aprovar dues lleis absolutament necessàries: la llei electoral i la llei catalana de transparència i accés a la informació. Hauríem de ser capaços de posar-nos d'acord entre tots, i això afecta al Parlament, perquè això finalment repercutirà positivament en el nostre sistema democràtic, aportarà credibilitat a les nostres institucions i millorarà la confiança de la ciutadania en el sistema polític del país.

Arribem al final de la meva intervenció. Espero que el debat de demà, que serà òbviament llarg, serveixi per contrastar idees, per respondre preguntes i crítiques que es puguin fer a l'acció de Govern, però també espero que serveixi per sumar. Intueixo que estem en un moment en el qual les persones que configuren el nostre país ens demanen que ens entenguem, que fem pinya, que unim voluntats i esforços fins i tot més enllà de les nostres diferències programàtiques i de les nostres sensibilitats diverses.

Fa quinze dies una gran part del poble català va entrellagar-se les mans per reclamar la independència de Catalunya. De Nord a Sud, de Sud a Nord, persones vingudes de tot Catalunya, de totes les edats, de parles diverses, de sensibilitats polítiques ben plurals, amb trajectòries i vides ben diferents, varen donar-se la mà en una gran manifestació de dignitat per Catalunya. En cada baula d'aquella cadena, en cada mà, hi havia una part de la dignitat del nostre país. És la mateixa reclamació de dignitat que fa quatre anys, de manera absolutament inèdita, varen subscriure, en un editorial conjunt, tots els mitjans de comunicació de Catalunya.

Fins i tot les catalanes i els catalans que hi estan en desacord o que no veuen clar el que allà es reclamava no poden deixar d'apreciar que en aquella cadena hi ha actualment la gran força de transformació, el principal motor de canvi del nostre país.

Els parlo a tots vostès com a president d'una institució que té més de 650 anys d'història i que, com el seu nom indica, s'adreça al conjunt d'un poble. El nom de "generalitat" ho explica prou bé. Sóc plenament conscient que represento, per tant, un poble sencer, que en el cas de Catalunya vol dir un poble molt barrejat, de creences, parles i orígens molt diferents i molt diversos. Des d'aquesta consciència m'agradaria adreçar-los dos missatges: el primer, que les minories no poden ni han d'obstaculitzar el camí que les majories han decidit emprendre, sempre que aquest camí s'expressi de forma democràtica i pacífica. El segon, que les majories han de recórrer el seu camí fent les coses de tal manera que les minories no se sentin expulsades del projecte comú.

Quan en un país es plantegen les situacions històriques que vivim a Catalunya només hi ha una solució- ho subratllo-: votar. Confio que votarem l'any que ve, en una consulta específica. I a partir d'aquí, a construir plegats. Els que guanyin la consulta i els que no la guanyin. El país que en resulti l'hem de construir junts.

Perquè el país és de tots, sense excepció. I el país que configurem els 7,5 milions de catalanes i de catalans és el que queda, independentment de la seva estructura o estatus polític.

Qualsevol estructura política està al servei del país, i no a l'inrevés. I si una majoria del poble català desitja canviar l'estatus polític, en forma d'Estat, és perquè vol seguir tenint país i, sobretot, el vol tenir molt millor. Hi insisteixo, arribats a aquest punt, després d'un recorregut de tres segles, les urnes són la

solució, i no són el problema, com alguns ens volen fer veure. Una societat democràtica i civilitzada no ho pot entendre d'altra manera, ni ho pot fer d'una altra manera.

Enguany celebrem el centenari del naixement de Salvador Espriu, el poeta que mirava nord enllà i que alhora reclamava la comprensió, el respecte i l'estima de Sepharad. Acabaré amb versos seus, que em sembla que són de gran utilitat a fi que ningú es confongui sobre la direcció del nostre projecte. Són versos del poema "M'han demanat que parli de la meua Europa" que comença dient: "Jo sóc d'una petita terra..." i que més endavant diu:

"Per això ara és tan profunda la nostra esperança
- en el meu somni, ja contemplada realitat-
d'integrar-nos, en un temps que sentim proper,
salvades la nostra llengua i la nostra història,
en una unitat superior que duu el nom,
obert, bellíssim, d'aquella filla d'Agènor..." (Europa)

I afegeix Espriu:

"Que no sigui decebuda la nostra esperança, que no sigui escarnida la nostra confiança: així molt humilment ho demanem" –diu Espriu.

Moltes gràcies per la seva atenció.



Discurs del president Mas en la celebració del centenari de la Mancomunitat

6 d'abril de 2014

Saludo d'una manera molt especial els presidents de les quatre diputacions catalanes que avui ens acompanyen. Senyora vicepresidenta del Govern de Catalunya, conselleres i consellers, senyor president en funcions del Parlament de Catalunya, president Pujol, president Montilla, parlamentaris, senyores i senyors, i també d'una manera especial vull saludar els expresidents de les diputacions catalanes que ens acompanyen en aquest acte.

Teníem un especial interès a celebrar aquest acte que estem commemorant. Teníem un punt de risc, que és que aquest any 2014 que està carregat de celebracions simbòliques, que passés una mica per alt el que va significar la creació de la Mancomunitat. I per tant amb les diputacions vam convenir en aquell moment que calia donar-li relleu, que calia fer conèixer el que va significar la Mancomunitat i la seva creació i la seva obra a partir de 1914. S'ha fet això i s'està fent a través d'un munt d'actes, però n'hi havia d'haver algun de central, un acte amb tota la solemnitat possible, i és aquest, just 100 anys després de la creació de la Mancomunitat, estem aquí perquè, disculpeu-me el que ara diré perquè no és cap ombra sobre el que farem després, perquè els actes del Tricentenari no ofeguin el que va significar la Mancomunitat. El Tricentenari està carregat de simbolisme des de molts punts de vista, tindrà una força molt gran durant tot aquest any, ja l'està tenint, però això no havia de ser en detriment de posar en el mapa una altra celebració, un altre centenari en aquest cas molt significatiu, que és concretament el de la Mancomunitat.

Perquè, en definitiva, la Catalunya d'avui és evident que és filla de 1714 i del que allò va significar, però també és filla del 1914 i del que allò va significar. Som fills d'aquests dos grans moments, del 1714, per tant de la pèrdua de les nostres institucions, dels nostres drets, de les nostres constitucions, de les nostres llibertats, però també som fills del 1914, que en definitiva ser el primer intent seriós des d'un punt de vista polític i institucional de recuperació d'algun grau del nostre autogovern.

I si m'ho permeteu crec que també avui d'una forma o altra estem fent un homenatge al món local de Catalunya, al món municipal, i celebro que hi hagi presents moltes alcaldesses, alcaldes, regidores, regidors, que ens acompanyen i d'altres que segurament ens segueixen a través d'altres mitjans. Celebro que estigueu aquí, perquè, en definitiva, fixeu-vos que els ajuntaments, en els moments decisius del país hi han estat sempre. El 1714 va ser el Consell de Cent de la ciutat de Barcelona i altres rèpliques que hi havia hagut en altres ciutats de Catalunya inspirats en

aquest Consell de Cent els que varen fer l'últim pas de la resistència, l'últim pas de la defensa. Anys després, el 1914, primera recuperació d'algun grau d'autogovern, va ser el món local el que es va ajuntar, que es va mancomunar i que s'hi va posar al davant.

Abans se'ns recordava que a l'Estatut de la República també van ser els ajuntaments els que d'alguna forma o altra van empènyer tot aquell procés al costat dels parlamentaris catalans. I amb el pas del temps, quan ja estem a l'època més contemporània, més moderna, recordem que varen ser també i han sigut també els ajuntaments catalans, avui 947 ajuntaments de Catalunya, els que en la recuperació democràtica han fet una gran tasca i un gran servei de reconstrucció del nostre país al costat del Parlament de Catalunya i al costat del Govern de Catalunya.

I no cal dir que en aquests moments, just en aquests moments en què, diguem-ho clar, la Generalitat està competencialment afeblida, competencialment debilitada i financerament ofegada, en aquest moment, els ajuntaments i les corporacions locals de Catalunya estan fent una gran feina per ajudar la gent, per donar serveis, per reconèixer drets i, a més a més, per fer progressar el país. Al costat del Govern de Catalunya, òbviament, però d'una forma molt notable i d'una forma molt remarcable. I per això crec que avui és important que això ho destaquem perquè aquest centenari de la Mancomunitat no deixa de ser un homenatge i un homenatge gran aquesta tasca important, importantíssima, que ha fet, que estan fent i que faran en el futur el món local de Catalunya.

S'ha destacat dels primers prohoms de la Mancomunitat, l'esperit constructor i l'esperit modernitzador, i va ser exactament així. Mentre Europa es dessagnava en aquella primera gran guerra i desgraciadament no la darrera del segle XX, a Catalunya es construïa i es modernitzava. Hi havia una Europa que es barallava, que s'enfrontava, que es matava, i ja en aquell moment, i d'això fa 100 anys, a Catalunya es construïa i es modernitzava. I l'esperit de construcció i de modernització que en aquell moment va tenir Catalunya va acabar també d'alguna manera ajudant a canviar coses en el conjunt de l'estat espanyol. No tantes com hauria calgut, dissortadament, però aquell va ser l'esperit més modernitzador que hi havia en aquell moment en el conjunt de la península Ibèrica. I deixeu-me fer un petit parèntesi, crec que avui, sense cap ànim de petulància, podem tornar a dir que el gran esperit modernitzador, el gran esperit constructor es troba també avui a la península Ibèrica fonamentalment a la societat catalana. Era aleshores així, fa cent anys, i torna a ser així en aquest moment de la mateixa manera, en circumstàncies diferents, però des del punt de vista de l'esperit constructor i modernitzador, poc o molt de la mateixa manera.

S'ha destacat, i ho vull recordar, que fa cent anys la Mancomunitat va significar que amb molt poc, uns quants pocs, i en poc temps, varen fer molt. I és exactament així. S'ha dit abans, sense competències, sense traspassos, sense gaires recursos, allà

es van posar les bases, els fonaments i els pilars de moltes coses que després han subsistit i que avui encara en podem gaudir.

Crec que això és important destacar-ho, de la mateixa manera que és important destacar que aquella gent de la Mancomunitat, i Prat de la Riba en particular, no es conformaven només amb una Mancomunitat amb poders administratius, que és el que se'ls hi va delegar. No es conformaven només amb això. De la presentació de la Mancomunitat, i són paraules de Prat de la Riba, les següents. Val la pena retenir-les. Deia ell: "No hem fet la Mancomunitat per tenir una Diputació més gran. Ni per donar a l'ànima catalana un petit cos d'administració subordinada secundària, una província. Tots, anant més o menys allà i veient lluny encara el terme del seu ideal, "tots -deia Prat de la Riba- volem per a Catalunya un cos d'Estat", i Estat escrit amb majúscules. "Tots sentim que la dignitat de la voluntat popular catalana exigeix imperiosament més o menys accentuades o atenuades, formes d'estat".

Això ho deia Prat de la Riba ara fa cent anys. Sona bastant present, i és bo que a més sigui així, però amb això simplement vull subratllar que aquella gent, en el seu esperit constructor i modernitzador i en el seu ideal de país i el seu projecte de país, no es conformaven amb la Mancomunitat. I prova d'això és que després van intentar, al cap de pocs anys, promoure el primer Estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya, prova inequívoca que no es conformaven amb aquelles poques eines que tenien. En volien més, per una raó molt senzilla i que és perfectament aplicable als temps actuals i ha estat aplicable en tot moment dins d'aquests darrers cent anys, que és que sempre hem hagut de construir l'autonomia catalana, l'autogovern del país amb uns instruments molt limitats i sempre se'ns ha jutjat com si els nostres instruments haguessin sigut instruments autènticament d'estat.

Podem imaginar si realment Prat de la Riba, Puig i Cadafalch i aquella gent haguessin tingut autèntics instruments d'estat què haurien sigut capaços de fer per Catalunya, si amb tan pocs varen fer tant? O posats al dia d'avui i d'aquests darrers 30 anys. Podem imaginar el que haurien estat capaces de fer les institucions catalanes si haguéssim disposat d'instruments d'estat? Si no haguéssim hagut d'estar durant 30 anys barallant-nos i queixant-nos i a vegades fins i tot pidolant perquè ens hem trobat sistemàticament amb una paret que limitava les aspiracions d'autogovern de Catalunya.

Doncs bé, això crec que val la pena recordar-ho perquè amb poc varen fer molt, insisteixo, pocs amb poc varen fer molt, i en poc temps, i d'una forma o d'una altra varen intentar crear aquelles primeres estructures d'Estat que, recordem-ho, també s'han anat complementant i configurant en els darrers 30 anys, tant com hem pogut.

I ho han fet tots els governs, des de l'any 1980, des del retorn del president Tarradellas. No els puc citar tots, serien molts, fixeuvos els següents, encara que sigui una llista ràpida: la immersió lingüística, avui atacada; el sistema de salut, que ha convertit el sistema sanitari de Catalunya en un dels referents europeus; la gran

xarxa d'equipaments culturals, les institucions culturals però també les biblioteques, amb aquell ideal constructor i modernitzador de Prat de la Riba, les biblioteques per tot Catalunya; els mitjans de comunicació públics; la policia; el sistema universitari, repartit pertot arreu... Tot això són grans instruments de país i s'han creat o complementat o desenvolupat en aquests darrers 30 anys.

I just en aquest moment i en aquests darrers pocs anys el nostre sistema de recerca, aquesta és una estructura d'estat; la fibra òptica, que ha d'arribar a tot arreu del conjunt de Catalunya, els fils telefònics de Prat de la Riba avui són la fibra òptica i el cable. La formació professional, un altre gran instrument de país que en aquests moments estem intentant desenvolupar, i la Hisenda pròpia, allò que no hem fet, i què hem de fer, que és urgent, que és necessari, que no es pot improvisar, però que és la gran estructura d'estat que en aquest moment ens fa falta, i que no hem sabut o no hem pogut desenvolupar durant tots aquests anys, però ens hi hem posat, ens hi hem posat, a més a més, amb les diputacions catalanes, ens hi posarem, espero, també amb els grans ajuntaments catalans que tenen capacitat d'Hisenda pròpia per ells mateixos, i estic convençut que en aquests propers dos anys serem capaços d'abastir aquest instrument de país, aquest instrument d'Estat, que avui per avui no tenim i que a hores d'ara tothom suposo que ja entén que és absolutament necessari, i tothom entén que si les coses haguessin anat d'una altra manera probablement l'hauríem pogut tenir i no hem pogut tenir durant l'etapa més moderna del nostre autogovern.

Per finalitzar, crec que el que s'està fent avui a Catalunya és una simbiosi entre Prat de la Riba i el president Macià. Què vol dir això? Vol dir construir el país amb els instruments que tenim i definir l'ideal. Construir el país amb els instruments que tenim vol dir ocupar-se del progrés i del benestar de la gent, i ocupar-se de les persones, del progrés i del benestar de la gent, modernitzar el país, tant com puguem, tant com sapiguem, i ocupar-se tal com es deia abans, de les persones, del progrés i del benestar de la gent, construir el país. I al mateix temps, definir l'ideal. I definir l'ideal què vol dir? Vol dir la llibertat. El que està fent la Catalunya d'avui, més enllà del Govern, més enllà del Parlament, més enllà de les pròpies institucions municipals, el que està fent la Catalunya d'avui, la societat d'avui, és precisament això, definir un ideal, un ideal en definitiva ens torna aquell esperit del president Macià.

I tot això vull recordar que si seguim el fil històric d'aquests darrers 100 anys s'ha fet amb voluntat d'entesa i de pacte amb l'Estat espanyol. No ho oblidem, perquè des del principi de tot, des d'aquest 1914 fins ara, en tots els moments que Catalunya ha tingut capacitat de governar-se fins a cert punt ella mateixa, ho ha intentat fer amb concòrdia, amb voluntat d'entesa i amb voluntat de pacte amb l'estat espanyol.

Quan us he citat abans aquella presentació de Prat de la Riba parlant de les estructures d'Estat, no hi havia una voluntat de separar-se de l'estat, hi havia una voluntat d'entesa, hi havia una voluntat de pacte, com així va ser amb l'Estatut que

es va intentar promoure el 1918 i que va acabar amb una dictadura. Com així va ser amb l'Estatut que es va promoure en l'etapa Republicana, i que va acabar en una guerra civil. Com així va ser a l'Estatut de l'any 79, que va acabar no només ell, altres circumstàncies, però també el que passava a Catalunya, amb un cop d'estat i amb la Loapa, i com ha passat amb l'Estatut del 2006, que afortunadament vol dir que hem anat progressant, no cal dir-ho, no acaba amb una dictadura, ni amb una guerra, evidentment, ja hi vaig fer referència ahir, però ni amb una Loapa, això ja ho podríem discutir més, però sí que ha acabat amb una sentència del Tribunal Constitucional. Però fixeu-vos que el fil roig de l'actitud de les institucions catalanes i del poble de Catalunya ha sigut un fil roig presidit per la voluntat de pacte i per la voluntat d'entesa.

I ara som aquí, som al 2014, han passat cent anys des de la creació de la Mancomunitat, cent anys d'acció catalanista, cent anys de voluntat inequívoca del poble de Catalunya i de les seves institucions de governar-se a ell mateix, cent anys de signes inequívocs de voluntat de pacte i d'entesa amb les institucions de l'Estat, i avui som aquí. Som a les portes d'un altre moment important, significatiu, rellevant. Aquest dimarts que ve, el 8 d'abril, el Parlament de Catalunya, a través de tres parlamentaris, anirà a les Corts generals, al Congrés dels Diputats. Estic convençut que hi aniran amb voluntat d'entesa i de pacte, perquè només la mateixa proposició que es fa, de dir: doneu-nos, amb la Constitució espanyola vigent, una competència per organitzar un referèndum, només això ja significa que aquesta voluntat de pacte i d'entesa hi és. No vull prejudicar el que passarà, ja ho veurem, espero que hi hagi un bon to i espero que Catalunya es pugui i se sàpiga explicar, d'això n'estic absolutament convençut que serà així, a més a més amb el to que ha presidit sempre les explicacions catalanes, que és un to positiu, un to constructiu.

Previsiblement ens diran que no en el moment de la votació. Però fixeu-vos una cosa, i ho dic en nom de cent anys d'acció catalanista i de voluntat d'entesa i de pacte amb l'Estat espanyol. Si ens diuen que no, diran que no a una llei, però aquest no, no podrà aturar la voluntat del poble de Catalunya.

Es pot dir que no a una llei però no es pot aturar la voluntat del poble de Catalunya, i això perquè en aquest moment hi ha una cosa que potser no hi va ser tant en altres èpoques d'aquests darrers 100 anys, perquè hi ha una altra gran estructura de país, que és l'estructura social. Avui no només hi ha unes institucions que estan defensant un país, avui no només hi ha unes institucions també locals que estan defensant uns projectes, i un dia a dia i una obra de construcció. Avui hi ha un poble, no puc dir sencer, perquè evidentment el poble en aquest sentit té opinions diverses, però avui hi ha una societat catalana plenament conscient de quin és el present, segurament molt conscienciada de l'experiència d'aquests darrers 100 anys, i fins i tot dels 300 i, per tant, una estructura social que creu el que s'està fent i que està com a mínim en paral·lel a l'acció de les institucions.

I això ja no és només la simbiosi entre Prat de la Riba i el president Macià, sinó que és la simbiosi entre les institucions catalanes i el poble de Catalunya. I això, que és la voluntat d'un poble sencer, és el que és més difícil d'aturar. Jo dono garanties com a president d'aquest país que aquesta voluntat del poble s'expressarà sempre d'aquesta manera que ho hem fet, civilitzada, positiva, constructiva, dialogant, amb esperit de pacte i amb esperit d'entesa, però mobilitzant-se. Mobilitzant-se no només al carrer sinó a tot arreu, de la manera que us deia, mobilitzant-se perquè també diguem-ho clar, el que està passant a Catalunya encara que alguns no s'ho creguin no és la dèria d'uns pocs, sinó que és la voluntat de molts. Aquesta és la realitat, això no és la dèria d'uns pocs, d'unes poques institucions, d'uns pocs líders eixelebrats, és la voluntat de molts, i la voluntat de molts l'hem de saber canalitzar des de les institucions però l'hem de saber canalitzar fent-la avançar. I crec que en aquest moment, des de les institucions catalanes, des de la majoria de les institucions catalanes, el que estem fent precisament és això, escoltar aquesta veu que entenem molt majoritària i molt transversal del poble de Catalunya i intentar al mateix temps conduir aquesta voluntat del poble català cap a les cotes que tots plegat segurament volem i desitgem.

Acabo amb unes paraules menys conegudes d'Enric Prat de la Riba. Deia ell: "No hi ha perill més gran que la immobilitat, restar aturat és morir". I ho deia un moderat. Però ho deia perquè sabia que quan els corrents són grans i els reptes encara més, quedar-se quiet és morir, és quedar en res, diguem-ho en altres paraules i crec que en aquest moment el poble de Catalunya ha decidit que en res evidentment no es quedarà, i amb poc, tampoc, perquè ara, a diferència de fa cent anys, ara no som pocs que volen fer molt, sinó que ara som molts que volem fer molt.



Missatge institucional del president de la Generalitat amb motiu de la Diada Nacional de Catalunya 2014

Benvolgudes i benvolguts compatriotes,

Celebrem enguany una Diada Nacional de Catalunya especial i diferent. Especial perquè és la Diada de la commemoració del Tricentenari dels fets de 1714, i diferent perquè és la darrera Diada prèvia a la convocatòria de la consulta del proper 9 de novembre.

L'any de la commemoració del Tricentenari he volgut dirigir-me a tots vosaltres des del Saló de Sant Jordi del Palau de la Generalitat. Un espai de significació històrica especial: el 1706 s'hi reuniren les darreres Corts Catalanes convocades per l'arxiduc Carles. Les Corts Catalanes creades al segle XIII i hereves de les assemblees de Pau i Treva són considerades el naixement del primer parlamentarisme a Europa. El nostre sentit de la democràcia ve de molt lluny.

Fou també en aquest mateix Saló de Sant Jordi on l'any 1713 es prengué la decisió de defensar les Constitucions Catalanes i resistir heroicament a Barcelona, fins que es produí l'entrada de les tropes borbòniques l'11 de setembre de 1714.

Convé conèixer la nostra història per recordar com de fondes són les conviccions democràtiques del poble català. En moments en què es vol menystenir, desvirtuar i fins i tot negar el nostre passat com a país, es fa més necessari que mai commemorar el que hem estat, recordar que la defensa heroica de Barcelona, i de tot Catalunya, fa tres segles, ho fou per defensar unes lleis de les més avançades del moment i que es contraposaven al poder absolut exercit de manera absoluta. I que fou precisament l'absolutisme homogeneïtzador, guanyador de la guerra, el que va voler aniquilar la nostra identitat, la nostra llengua i els nostres usos i costums.

Commemorar és, doncs, recordar que som un país que vol fer bé les coses, que vol fer-les debatent, contrastant idees i parers i, finalment, decidir de manera democràtica, votant. Aquest és l'aprenentatge del que representava la societat catalana de fa tres segles, i és el que alguns ara no volen que recordem.

Han passat tres segles. Ha passat de tot. Ara mateix, encara estem travessant un mar de dificultats molt grans per a moltes persones, compatriotes nostres. Les dificultats han sigut i són tan grans i els obstacles tan poderosos, que podíem haver quedat esborrats del paisatge de les nacions d'Europa i del món. Però felixment no ha estat així: la nació catalana és viva; tenim país; i ens preparem democràticament, cívicament i pacíficament per decidir el nostre futur col·lectiu, el de set milions i mig

de catalanes i de catalans. Catalans d'origen, d'adopció o d'acolliment, tant és, tots protagonistes del present i del futur de Catalunya. Tots amb la mateixa força a l'hora de decidir el futur: la força del nostre vot.

He dit des de l'inici que el procés polític que viu Catalunya es recolza sobre dos grans pilars: la majoria social que el fa possible i el consens polític que el vertebrava. Demà una part significativa del poble català tornarà a demostrar al món quina és la via catalana d'entendre la democràcia i la llibertat. I es tornarà a fer palès, un any més, que la majoria social que fa possible el procés polític que viu Catalunya no defalleix, sinó que continua més viva i forta que mai. Se n'hauria de prendre bona nota.

El meu compromís per convocar la consulta, un cop el Parlament de Catalunya hagi aprovat la via legal per fer-ho possible, és ferm. Hem transitat fins a dia d'avui amb una majoria política que, des de la diversitat ideològica que té aquest país, ha pres totes les decisions necessàries per arribar fins on som. La meua voluntat és que aquesta unitat no s'esquerdi i fins i tot es pugui ampliar, per seguir donant resposta a l'anhel i la voluntat de la majoria de la nostra societat.

Aprofito també aquest moment solemne per explicitar al Govern i a les institucions de l'Estat que encara són a temps d'escoltar el clam pacífic i democràtic d'aquest poble. Silenciar la veu d'un poble que vol parlar és un error; negar el vot a qui veu en les urnes la solució i no pas el problema és un error doble. El poble català no vol imposar una decisió; vol ser escoltat, vol parlar, vol votar i vol arribar a bons acords per a tothom.

Els catalans i les catalanes volem votar. I volem fer-ho per guanyar el nostre futur i poder decidir com donar millor resposta a les necessitats dels nostres conciutadans. No ens mou l'afany de ser millors que els altres sinó de ser millors nosaltres mateixos. Aspirem, com tothom, a un futur millor. Un futur que volem de concòrdia i de solidaritat amb la resta de pobles d'Espanya i d'Europa. Anhelem ser tractats com les altres nacions del món i, per tant, poder decidir per nosaltres mateixos sobre la nostra economia, el nostre benestar, els nostres serveis públics, la nostra identitat i la forma de relacionar-nos amb les altres nacions d'Europa i del món. I ho volem fer reforçant els nostres molt antics lligams amb aquesta Europa que encara es troba a mig camí de la seva construcció política.

Tenim l'oportunitat que de tant en tant es dona a la història de posar els fonaments d'una Catalunya millor. De superar les nostres fallades, les nostres debilitats i els nostres defectes. D'aparcar les nostres, de vegades excessives, divisions internes. D'edificar el país del futur sobre bases més sòlides, més transparents i de millor qualitat democràtica. La nostra ambició de qualitat democràtica ha d'estar a l'altura de la llarguíssima trajectòria de conviccions democràtiques del nostre país. Haver tingut un dels Parlaments més antics d'Europa hauria de ser un potent estímul per

aspirar a tenir una de les millors democràcies d'Europa. I encara som lluny d'aquest noble i necessari objectiu.

En aquesta hora gran que viu Catalunya, un cop més sota la mirada atenta i potser curiosa del món, us convido a totes i a tots a projectar la millor realitat del nostre país: la Catalunya convivencial, cívica, culta, respectuosa, tolerant i integradora; i la Catalunya compromesa amb la justícia social, fidel a la seva tradició dinàmica, emprenedora i creativa, i amant de la llibertat i de les llibertats.

Visca Catalunya!



Missatge del president de la Generalitat amb motiu del Cap d'Any

S'acaba un any, el 2014, i n'encetem un altre, l'Any Nou que és a punt de començar. Seguint la tradició, m'adreço a tots vosaltres per felicitar-vos les Festes, per desitjar-vos un molt bon Any 2015 i per fer-vos arribar unes breus reflexions sobre el moment, ben decisiu i transcendent, que viu el nostre país.

De totes les festes de l'any, aquestes probablement són les més entranyables per passar amb la família i els amics. És per aquest motiu que el principal record és pels que no tenen el goig i la sort de poder gaudir amb plenitud d'aquests dies, bé per la pèrdua d'algun familiar o amic proper, o bé perquè la salut, el benestar o la feina són motiu de preocupació enlloc de ser-ho de normalitat.

Estic segur que recullo el sentiment de milers i milers de compatriotes nostres si expresso tot l'afecte per aquelles persones que es troben més soles o que estan més necessitades i són per tant més vulnerables.

L'any que ara acomiadem ha sigut un any de canvi, de canvis importants.

Per començar, canvis en l'economia. Per primer cop des de l'inici de la crisi, fa set anys, cada trimestre de l'any hi ha hagut creixement econòmic; per primer cop des d'aleshores cada mes de l'any l'atur ha baixat en relació al mateix mes de l'any anterior; per primer cop s'ha creat ocupació i feina de manera sostinguda. Són, tots ells, canvis en la bona direcció. Canvis que confio poder confirmar i accentuar durant l'any 2015.

Tanmateix, les desigualtats socials no s'han reduït. La pobresa, o el risc de caure-hi, no ha disminuït. I encara que hi ha més feina, no n'hi ha per tothom que vol treballar. I mentre això sigui així, no podem donar la crisi per superada. L'estem superant, li estem donant la volta amb l'esforç i l'energia de molts. Però queda camí per recórrer, i per tant no es pot

baixar la guàrdia ni un sol mil·límetre. El Govern que presideixo ho té clar i seguirà treballant i esforçant-se per lluitar contra les desigualtats, per defensar els serveis públics fonamentals i per ajudar a crear noves oportunitats.

L'altre canvi de calat que s'ha produït en el 2014 l'ha constituït l'aposta decidida per la transparència i les bones pràctiques de l'Administració. La Llei de la transparència i accés a la informació recentment aprovada pel Parlament, el portal de la transparència impulsat pel Govern i altres mesures en aquesta mateixa línia han situat la Generalitat com a capdavantera de la regeneració democràtica que la societat reclama i exigeix. No vull dir amb això que tot es faci bé; però sí que hi ha el ferm compromís de fer les coses millor; de combatre les irregularitats i les males pràctiques quan hi siguin; d'exigir responsabilitats quan algun governant o servidor públic les cometi; d'administrar els recursos públics amb la mateixa cura que si fossin els nostres, precisament perquè són els de tots.

No sempre ha estat així, o com a mínim no ho ha estat prou. Ara, però, hi ha una consciència més extensa i una exigència més gran per eradicar les males pràctiques o les pràctiques dubtoses i per instaurar unes Administracions més àgils, més properes i més transparents.

L'altre gran canvi del 2014 és que per primer cop en tres segles els catalans que ho varen voler varen poder votar a favor del futur polític del país, fins i tot de la llibertat política de Catalunya.

Molts ho varen fer, tants com gairebé dos milions tres-centes cinquanta mil persones. Mai havíem arribat tant lluny. Mai.

Malgrat la prohibició i tota la maquinaria institucional de l'Estat en contra, molts milers de catalans van fer un exercici d'autoafirmació, de respecte, de democràcia i de lliure opinió en llibertat. Un exercici de democràcia que en ple segle XXI hauria de ser normalitat en lloc d'excepció, hauria de convidar al diàleg i a la negociació en lloc de querelles judicials.

Malament quan un Estat decideix querellar-se per la via penal contra aquelles i aquells que faciliten la participació i donen la veu i el vot a la ciutadania. Vol dir que alguna cosa falla, i no pas menor.

El 9 de novembre ha estat també una mostra de que la unitat ens dóna força com a país. Sense la implicació de la societat civil, dels voluntaris, dels diferents partits polítics i del Govern no hi hauríem arribat. N'hauríem de prendre bona nota, la unitat suma, ens fa més forts i ens permet avançar de manera més sòlida. La unitat permet fer entendre millor el que volem, com a país i com a societat, i ens dóna moral de victòria.

La unitat és el que més tem l'Estat. L'Estat ens vol dividits, cadascú pel seu compte. Sap que així som més dèbils i més vulnerables. N'hauríem de ser ben conscients, prendre'n bona nota i actuar en conseqüència.

En aquestes properes setmanes caldrà prendre noves decisions complicades i no exemptes de risc. El camí fins el 9 de novembre estava ple d'obstacles, molts d'externs i alguns d'interns. Tots es varen poder superar.

Si aleshores no vaig dubtar en assumir personalment les decisions que creia més adequades, també ho faré en els propers passos que ens pertoca fer com a país. És la meva responsabilitat com a President: no defugir les decisions, per difícils que puguin ser. Mentre tingui la confiança que m'heu atorgat amb els vostres vots, així ho faré. I seran només els vostres vots, quan arribi el moment, els que configurin els escenaris de futur que han de seguir guiant les regnes d'aquest país.

Us desitjo el millor per vosaltres i per les persones que estimeu en aquest 2015 que estem a punt de començar. Un any que volem que sigui millor en tots els sentits. Un any que us convido a viure amb intensitat, amb esperança i amb la confiança que sabrem, entre totes i tots, construir una Catalunya millor.

Visca Catalunya!

Barcelona, 30 de desembre de 2014



Crida de Sant Jordi 2014 del president Mas

- **“Oferirem al món el gran espectacle del mosaic de la societat catalana participant activament, incorporant la diversitat i celebrant el que ens uneix”**

Benvolgudes i benvolguts,

M'alegra molt adreçar-me a vosaltres per felicitar-vos la Diada de Sant Jordi. Especialment als que porteu aquest nom. Crec que no exagero gens si dic que avui és la Festa Major de Catalunya. Seria difícil trobar-ne una altra com aquesta. Els catalans hem fet del nostre Dia dels Enamorats una celebració de cultura, de bellesa i de convivència. Celebrem l'esclat de la primavera regalant un llibre, una rosa, o les dues coses, a les persones que estimem. Fent una passejada pel carrer, aturant-nos a les parades de llibres, trobant-nos i retrobant-nos.

Us animo a tots els que pugueu busqueu una estona per compartir amb les persones que estimeu, que aneu a donar una volta per les parades de roses i de llibres, a les llibreries, que trobeu un moment per tenir un petit detall, una mica especial, quelcom que us surti simplement del cor. La millor manera de viure aquesta festa és compartint-la, i per això el millor que podem fer avui és fer un regal, ni que sigui molt petit, ni que sigui molt senzill, cadascú en la mesura que pugui: la rosa, el llibre, o tan sols compartir una mica del nostre temps amb les persones que tenim ben a la vora.

La festa de Sant Jordi, per cert, és molt antiga, com ho són les nostres institucions. El mateix Dietari de la Generalitat de Catalunya recull com el 17 d'abril de 1459, al segle XV, es va fer pública una crida pública pels carrers per tal que tothom celebrés la festa de Sant Jordi. Així ho havien establert les Corts catalanes, per cert un dels parlaments més antics del món. La rosa vermella es regala, per tant, des del segle XV. Aquest mateix Palau de la Generalitat llueix per tot arreu la Creu de Sant Jordi. També es va celebrar a la Barcelona assetjada de 1714, ara fa tres-cents anys. I va ser la Mancomunitat de Catalunya, de la que enguany celebrem el centenari, qui va tornar a impulsar la celebració de la Diada, que va incorporar l'element del llibre a finals dels anys vint del segle passat.

És molt bonic, a més, que l'element representatiu de la nostra Diada de Sant Jordi sigui regalar, donar-se una mica. Parla molt del nostre poble, de la nostra manera de ser i de la nostra manera de fer. La rosa vermella simbolitza la passió; el llibre és el compendi de la cultura. Tenim, doncs, passió per la cultura, i ens agrada compartir.



Milers de persones sortirem avui al carrer en pau i bona convivència, amb esperit cívic. Milers participarem en tota mena d'activitats vinculades a les celebracions d'avui. Oferirem al món el gran espectacle del mosaic de la societat catalana participant activament, incorporant la diversitat i alhora celebrant el que ens uneix. Així és com som i així és com ens agrada fer les coses. I així és com les fem, i com les farem. Perquè així és com som.

Us animo un cop més a què visqueu aquest dia tan bonic amb totes les vostres forces. No ens oblidem, per cert, dels que ho passen malament: per a ells va el nostre pensament, el de tots nosaltres, i el de moltes altres persones que, especialment avui, vetllaran perquè moltes de les persones que pateixen visquin una diada una mica més especial.

A tots vosaltres us animo a què no us quedeu a casa, a què abans de sortir, si voleu, pengeu la senyera al balcó, a què regaleu la rosa, a què compreu llibres, a què trenqueu una llança pels llibres en la nostra llengua, pels nostres autors i autores, i per les nostres llibreries. I que si podeu tingueu també un detall amb les entitats que ajuden els que no poden seguir tan bé... i també amb els estudiants! Que us sentiu part d'un poble viu i alegre, que és i té ganes de ser.

Molt bona Diada de Sant Jordi a tothom.

Visca Catalunya!

Palau de la Generalitat, Barcelona 23 d'abril de 2014



Declaració institucional del president de la Generalitat després de la signatura del decret de convocatòria de la consulta

Palau de la Generalitat, 27 de setembre de 2014

Acabo de signar el decret de convocatòria que ha de fer possible que el proper 9 de novembre tots els catalans i les catalanes puguem pronunciar-nos sobre el futur polític que volem pel nostre país.

Han calgut grans mobilitzacions ciutadanes i molts mesos de treball fins arribar al dia d'avui, un dia que recordarem per sempre. Va ser el novembre de 2012, quan el poble de Catalunya, mitjançant el seu vot en unes eleccions de gran participació, va conformar una majoria parlamentària clarament favorable al dret a decidir. Un dret que ara ens preparem per exercir.

Des d'aleshores quatre màximes han guiat aquest procés: àmplies majories socials, consens polític, cerca constant del diàleg i respecte als marcs legals.

- Majories socials que són fruit de les multitudinàries manifestacions populars, i sobretot de l'expressió lliure i democràtica a les urnes. Majories socials que a través del vot van configurar un Parlament amb àmplies majories polítiques a favor del dret a decidir i de trobar una solució política pel nostre futur, solució que ha de ser consultada a tots els catalans i catalanes. Aquesta és la manera com s'expressen les democràcies i neixen els projectes polítics: votant. És responsabilitat dels demòcrates no negar la realitat, escoltar la veu de la ciutadania expressada a les urnes i donar sortida als compromisos electorals, que són mandats de la ciutadania que sempre cal procurar complir.
- Consens polític que reconeix Catalunya com a Nació, com a font de sobirania que mereix ser consultada sobre el seu futur. Unitat política per pactar una data, una pregunta i els marcs legals per fer possible la consulta. Unitat política en la diversitat ideològica per construir, per generar consensos. Unitat política que contrasta amb aquells a qui només els uneix la voluntat de negar, de dir que no a tot, de no presentar cap projecte ni alternativa. De no fer ni deixar fer. O fins i tot de fer-ho tot per no deixar fer res.
- Cerca constant del diàleg per parlar i negociar. Ningú podrà negar que hem estès la mà al diàleg en tot moment. Hem estat oberts a pactar la pregunta, la data i el marc legal. Hem estat i estem oberts a pactar les condicions per fer possible la consulta, fins al darrer moment. El que no podem, però, és caure en el parany de

l'immobilisme, vestit d'una presumpta legalitat, per a no fer res. Quin contrast amb aquells estats democràtics que permeten que les nacions que els conformen puguin opinar i decidir sobre el seu futur! Estats democràtics que parlen i que deixen parlar; que pacten per poder votar; i que fan servir les lleis per escoltar les persones i no per silenciar-les.

- I finalment, respecte als marcs legals. És sota l'empara de la llei de consultes aprovada pel Parlament de Catalunya el passat 19 de setembre que signo aquest decret per a que els catalans i les catalanes puguin opinar sobre el futur polític que volen per a Catalunya. Una llei que és conseqüència de la competència exclusiva en matèria de consultes populars que defineix l'Estatut en vigor. Una llei constitucional i estatutària, que demanem que sigui respectada. Una llei que empara una consulta que ha de permetre a la Generalitat exercir la iniciativa legal, política i institucional que li pertoca i li correspon. Quina millor manera d'exercir aquesta iniciativa que a partir de conèixer l'opinió del poble de Catalunya?

Tinc l'honor de ser el 129è President de la Generalitat de Catalunya, institució creada el 1359 i que des de la primera presidència de Berenguer de Cruïlles ha estat reflex durant gairebé set segles de la voluntat d'autogovern dels catalans. Al llarg d'aquests set segles només imposicions externes han provocat la suspensió de l'autogovern. Un autogovern que la voluntat expressa del poble català sempre ha maldat per tornar a recuperar. Les nostres arrels són profundes com ho és la solidesa del nostre sentiment. Però encara són més sòlides i profundes la voluntat i la determinació de construir un país millor de cara al futur. Un bon país.

Volem votar, volem decidir i ara tenim el marc i el moment adequat per fer-ho.

Vull aprofitar també aquest moment solemne per dirigir un missatge a tots els ciutadans espanyols: "Catalunya quiere decidir pacífica y democráticamente su futuro político. Los lazos de hermandad que nos unen con el resto de pueblos de España son intensos y profundos. Tenemos una larga historia en común, historia que continuará con la voluntad de construcción conjunta de la Europa del siglo XXI. En democracia debemos resolver los retos que nos depara el futuro con más democracia. A nadie puede asustarle que alguien exprese su opinión con un voto en una urna. Este es nuestro compromiso, así nos lo han mandado una gran mayoría de catalanes con su voto en las últimas elecciones autonómicas. Catalunya quiere hablar, quiere ser escuchada, quiere votar. La Catalunya que quiere votar es la de los siete millones y medio de personas que la componen; personas de orígenes muy diversos, muchas de ellas procedentes de tierras españolas, y de lenguas también diversas. Esta Catalunya, tierra de paso y de acogida, tierra de culturas que a lo largo de siglos han cruzado este rincón de la Península Ibérica y del Mar Mediterráneo, es la Catalunya que quiere votar. Y una vez Catalunya se haya manifestado democráticamente, encontremos los marcos de diálogo necesarios para construir el futuro. Un futuro mejor para todos. Este es nuestro deseo".

A partir de la signatura del decret de convocatòria el Govern desplegarà tota la seva iniciativa per fer possible que els catalans i catalanes puguin votar. Ara és el moment de contrastar parers, de contrastar idees i propostes. Ara és el moment que cadascú ofereixi el que cregui millor pel nostre futur col·lectiu i que amb respecte cap a tothom pugui dir-hi la seva. Ara és el moment d'exercir la responsabilitat individual de cadascú de nosaltres a les urnes, de decidir el que creiem millor pel futur, pel nostre futur i pel dels nostres fills i néts.

En aquesta hora gran de Catalunya, vull tenir un record especial per a totes aquelles generacions d'homes i dones que han lluitat pel nostre país i han cregut en ell. Generacions de catalanes i de catalans, d'origen, d'acollida o d'adopció, que des de fa segles, dècades o simplement anys han fet de Catalunya una terra de democràcia, de respecte, de tolerància, de benestar i de solidaritat.

A tots els que no veureu ni viureu aquesta hora gran de Catalunya, o que la veureu i viureu d'una manera diferent, aquest decret és un homenatge que us tributem per donar-vos les gràcies i per dir-vos que sense vosaltres no hauríem arribat fins aquí.

I a totes les catalanes i tots els catalans que configureu la Catalunya d'avui i la del demà, aquest decret és el repte que posem a les vostres mans per decidir i construir el vostre futur. Avui s'obre un camí que representarà un abans i un després en la llarga història de Catalunya.

Confio plenament que sigui a fi de bé. I us demano a tots que hi ajudeu.

Visca Catalunya!

I would like to convey a message to the european leaders and the european people.

Catalonia, my country, is one of the oldest nations of Europe. Nowadays, it is a modern society composed of seven and a half million people, about 70% of them with a non-catalan origin.

As all the nations in the world, Catalonia has the right to decide its political future. This is exactly the message that broad majorities of the catalan people send to the world every year since 2012, by organising huge peaceful demonstrations in the streets of Barcelona, our main town.

Two years ago, I called early elections. My purpose was to know how large the social majority in favour of the right of selfdetermination was. The turnout was the highest in three decades. The outcome was clear: more than two-thirds of the members of Parliament were in favour of the right to decide.

As a consequence of all that, today I called a consultation on November 9 to know the opinion of the catalan people above 16 about the question on selfdetermination. That question was agreed with the majority of the catalan political forces in December last year.

We stand for democracy, dialogue and peace. We believe that political issues must be resolved by negotiation and civilised attitudes. And we know that democracy is the most civilised way to resolve difficulties between nations. This is our will and our commitment.



Conferència del president de la Generalitat a “Moment Zero”

Born Centre Cultural. 26 de gener de 2015

Molt bona tarda a tothom i ja que es donaven tantes gràcies, doncs gràcies per ser aquí, per la vostra presència i també per la vostra paciència de la qual jo procuraré no abusar gaire perquè just quan vàrem acordar la meva compareixença avui en aquest acte, que com s'ha dit abans ha tingut altres compareixents i altres ponents, jo mateix vaig demanar que en lloc de fer una xerrada llarga per part meva, fos més curta, més sintètica, sobretot amb l'ànim de donar temps a allò que segurament en un acte com el d'avui és més interessant que és el col·loqui. Per tant, no es pensin que perquè ara jo no sigui gaire i gaire llarg és manca d'interès ni manca de ganes d'explicar coses sinó que és una aposta perquè hi hagi un temps més llarg i més tranquil per poder fer el col·loqui que és la part més interessant d'un acte com aquest.

Per altra banda, a mi em tenen, suposo, molt sentit, ja és molt pensar que m'escolten però vaja, diguem-ho així, d'aquesta manera, i segur que a les preguntes que puguin sorgir s'obriran algunes clarianes, alguns àmbits nous que poden ser d'interès per a tothom.

Coses que jo els volia dir que no són tant una novetat, per entendre'ns, perquè entre altres coses la novetat que jo podia donar fa uns dies ja la vaig donar, que era la data de les eleccions. Vaig estar pensant si me la reservava per avui, però al final em van fer desistir i em vaig animar i la vaig poder donar abans com tots vostès coneixen, i no cal dir que tant a en Joaquim Vidal com a en Xevi Xirgo els agraeixo molt les seves paraules i per descomptat la seva invitació, però sobretot les seves paraules i la seva feina.

Coses que jo els volia comentar a títol purament d'aquesta reflexió inicial.

La primera, poc o molt, ho deia ara en Xevi Xirgo; en poc temps a Catalunya hem anat molt lluny, dic això perquè de tant en tant ho oblidem. L'acceleració és tan gran que ens falta de tant en tant una mica de perspectiva del que ha passat en aquest país només en dos anys i mig, i dos anys i mig en el cicle històric no és res, i especialment si ens envolten aquestes parets i aquest monument a la història que és el Born actual, és evident que aquests dos anys i mig no són pràcticament res en el decurs de la història. Però ho subratllo perquè en dos anys i mig en aquest país, si m'apuren molt en quatre a tot estirar, hi ha hagut un canvi de mentalitat d'una profunditat inimaginable només fa 4 anys. Per tant, en menys d'una legislatura de les normals, que són 4 anys, hi ha hagut un canvi de mentalitat total, total potser no, però molt i molt gran. S'ha passat del concepte de l'autonomia que havíem perseguit durant dècades, per part de governs molt diferents -no es pot atribuir l'etiqueta de l'autonomia a una determinada opció política perquè tots els partits que han estat al Govern de Catalunya en els darrers 35 anys, per descomptat, però fins i tot més enllà en la nostra història al segle XX, sense distinció, tots han apostat d'una forma o d'una altra per una autonomia política dintre de l'Estat espanyol, tots sense excepció-. Per tant, hem passat d'aquella mentalitat de l'autonomia a la mentalitat o a l'aposta del Dret a Decidir, que és el que es va defensar en les eleccions avançades de novembre de 2012, i el Dret a Decidir

porta implícita d'una forma o d'una altra l'aposta per la sobirania. I fixeu-vos que tot això està resumit a la pregunta que es va pactar el desembre del 2013 per ser formulada al 9N de l'any passat. Hi havia el concepte d'una evolució dintre de l'Estat espanyol a la primera part de la pregunta, i una part molt clara que apostava per si Catalunya havia de convertir un possible Estat català en un estat independent. Xirgo, aquella pregunta la vaig parir jo i diu estat independent, no sé si m'explico. Perquè de tant en tant a mi se'm penguen unes determinades etiquetes i llavors tot això poc o molt va quedant. És cert que jo moltes vegades he advertit, i d'això no me n'amago mai, que hem d'entendre el concepte de la independència d'avui no en la manera només clàssica i tradicional del que eren les independències dintre d'Europa sinó d'una forma diferent, perquè si no ens farem alguna trampa al solitari i aleshores xocarem amb la realitat. I avui sabem que les independències d'avui, del segle XXI, fins i tot de finals del segle XX dintre de la Unió Europea- que és un marc de cessió de sobirania creixent, per tant més cessió de sobirania encara, almenys aquesta és la nostra aposta i el nostre projecte-, doncs les independències no les podem jutjar exactament igual que abans, però per deixar fora de dubtes la meua posició en aquest sentit quan jo vaig convidar les altres formacions polítiques catalanes que s'hi van voler afegir a acordar aquella pregunta, jo tenia molt clar que per sortir de la situació que estem des d'un punt de vista polític a Catalunya s'ha de poder preguntar per la independència del país i d'aquí que aquella pregunta clarament ho interioritzava. I d'aquí que fins i tot un milió nou-centes mil persones d'aquest país varen poder votar aquesta opció directament a les urnes sense passar per programes electorals en forma d'eleccions. Això és el que va passar el 9N.

Deia-, que en poc temps hem anat molt lluny i afegeixo-, que en poc temps hem anat molt lluny no només des del punt de vista del canvi de la mentalitat interna del país, sinó també des del posicionament de Catalunya com un subjecte polític en l'escena internacional. Nosaltres, diguem-ho clar, fa no gaires anys, políticament com a país no existíem a l'escena internacional. Existia Barcelona com a gran ciutat, com a gran capital, cada vegada més amb més potència, amb més admiració, amb més ganxo. Això sí que existia. Però Catalunya com a subjecte polític a l'escena internacional era una absoluta desconeguda, i en aquest moment no diré que sigui més coneguda que la monyos perquè seria fals, però Catalunya en aquest moment està present a l'escena política internacional, i no cal dir a l'europea. Allà hi som, i ens hi hem situat. I ens hi hem situat nosaltres per mèrits propis.

Cada vegada que un Onze de Setembre en aquest país hi ha hagut una mobilització d'un milió i mig de persones al carrer, pacíficament, ens hem situat a l'escena internacional. Cada vegada que hem estat capaços de multiplicar aquesta manifestació cada any consecutiu ens hem tornat a situar a l'escena internacional. Cada vegada que al Parlament de Catalunya o en el marc polític català hem pogut fer un acord important ens hem situat a l'escena internacional. I també s'ha de dir, com s'ha comentat abans, que cada vegada que un alt dirigent polític espanyol, especialment del govern però no només del govern, ha obert la boca, ens ha situat a l'escena internacional.

És a dir, que ens ho hem guanyat i ens ho han facilitat, les dues coses juntes. Però atenció amb el judici que de tant en tant fem: No és només perquè ells a través de la seva imperícia en aquest sentit ens hagin ajudat a nosaltres a situar-nos a l'escena internacional, és perquè per mèrits propis el país s'hi ha situat i no hi era i ara hi és. I dic això amb un especial èmfasi per una raó, perquè en el moment de la veritat final, que esperem que no sigui gaire tard, ens ho jugarem gairebé tot a l'escena del reconeixement internacional, cosa que de tant en

tant tendim a oblidar. Jo hi poso l'accent especial perquè algú que es vol convertir en un estat vol dir que d'una forma o d'una altra aspira a formar part del club dels estats, que n'hi ha molts però tampoc no tants, es compten per desenes, no per centenes. El que vull dir és que si aspirem a estar en aquest club d'estats hem de fer les coses de tal manera que en algun moment hi puguem accedir per mèrits propis però també per reconeixement d'aquests mateixos estats.

Segon missatge sobre el qual volia simplement reflexionar. Políticament mai no ens l'havíem jugat tant com a país, mai, i crec que això val la pena que ho recordem perquè això té conseqüències. Una primera conseqüència és, entenc jo, que se li ha donat valor a la política a Catalunya entesa la política com un compromís amb la gent i d'això ens n'havíem oblidat una mica o bastant. I el fet de donar aquest valor a la política, de compromís amb la gent-,evidentment no amb tothom, quan dic la gent vull dir la majoria de la societat catalana-, això ha tornat a donar valor a la política amb majúscules i això era un repte que teníem pendent poc o molt en el nostre país. Ara bé, el fet d'actuar d'aquesta manera i d'haver-nos-la jugat tant políticament també, no cal dir-ho, activa els nostres adversaris i de quina manera! I això, quan vam començar amb tot aquest procés, jo ho vaig intentar explicar, que res no seria fàcil perquè jo comptava -com ha passat i com seguirà passant- que els nostres adversaris no tolerarien fàcilment un procés polític com el que està seguint Catalunya. I aquest és el cas, no ho toleren fàcilment; al revés, ho combaten tant com poden amb les armes del segle XXI, que ja no són les del Born de fa 300 anys, però són molt poderoses les armes que tenen encara que siguin les actuals del segle XXI, i les posen a prova gairebé sempre. Algunes vegades de manera legítima, altres vegades no, altres vegades clarament amb joc brut. Per tant, hi ha de tot aquí. Però subratllo això d'aquesta activació dels adversaris de tota mena, hi hem de comptar i no només em refereixo als polítics perquè d'adversaris activats fora de Catalunya també n'hi ha de tota mena. Els polítics per descomptat, els institucionals també, però els mediàtics també i de quina manera. Encara que no siguin estrictament l'Estat, també estan activats en contra nostra. I determinats àmbits judicials que sí que són Estat es poden activar. I no cal dir-ho, quan ha calgut a l'Estat espanyol el TC bé que s'ha activat. Per tant, fixeu-vos que hi ha actors diferents a la política de l'Estat espanyol que davant d'un procés com aquest s'activen i de quina manera i simplement hi hem de comptar també en els propers temps.

Tercera cosa que volia comentar. El 27S. Ara hi ha una certa discussió, un cert debat -que ja adverteixo que no ens durà enlloc i que no caldria que ens hi obsessionéssim tant fins i tot dintre de Catalunya- sobre la naturalesa d'aquestes eleccions. Ara podem tenir la temptació, per cert molt nostrada, de passar-nos mesos embolicats a saber què són aquestes eleccions i perdre'ns un cop més en els detalls i oblidar un cop més l'objectiu principal. Que de tant en tant això en aquests país nostre –aquí no podem donar les culpes als de fora- hi estem bastant entrenats. Fem discussions eternes sobre detalls menors que l'única cosa que fan és despistar-nos a tots plegats. I embolicar-nos en unes seqüències de les quals a vegades nosaltres mateixos no en sabem sortir i es converteixen en laberints quan no en gàbies. Dic això perquè ara el 27S les coses són molt clares i s'han de dir pel seu nom, aquestes eleccions tenen una naturalesa legal i política. La legal no cal que la discutim gaire, és la que és. Són unes eleccions que el president de la Generalitat convocarà d'acord amb l'ordenament jurídic vigent. Qui li vulgui posar nom legal a aquestes eleccions s'equivocarà. Ja ens ho deia, per cert, si agafem l'afició de rellegir les coses interessants que s'han fet en aquest país, ja ens ho deia l'informe de juliol de 2013, el primer informe que va fer el Consell Assessor per a la Transició Nacional. Ja ens ho deien. I ara estem utilitzant aquell

instrument que és el darrer que ens queda i l'utilitzarem d'acord amb la seva naturalesa legal que és una convocatòria d'eleccions al Parlament de Catalunya com n'hem vistes d'altres. Ara bé, una cosa és la naturalesa legal, que no se'ns podrà discutir i convé que no ens discuteixin perquè si no tornarem a entrar en el debat d'aquest darrer any i mig on tot el problema era la legalitat, i això és el que no ens permetia avançar a nosaltres mateixos. Caure en aquesta discussió torna a ser un favor en majúscules al que pretén l'Estat. Per tant, facilitem les coses, no cal embolicar-nos en aquest sentit. Són eleccions al Parlament de Catalunya tal com s'han fet en altres ocasions. Però la naturalesa política d'aquestes eleccions, que ja no depèn del decret de convocatòria del president de la Generalitat sinó de com els partits polítics fan front a la convocatòria electoral, i aquesta és feina dels partits polítics, de les formacions polítiques, aquí la naturalesa política és la que és, i és evident que aquestes eleccions són unes eleccions per saber no només si a Catalunya hi ha una majoria clara i rotunda pel Dret a Decidir que ja ho sabem, sinó que a més a més si en aquesta línia del Dret a Decidir hi ha també una majoria clara a favor de la sobirania catalana o a favor que Catalunya es transformi en un estat, fins i tot en un estat independent.

Això és el que està en joc, i hi hem arribat a través de la fórmula possible. N'hi havia d'altres de fórmules però hi hem arribat a través de la possible, de la possible dintre de Catalunya, i per tant ara és feina nostra de tots plegats donar a aquestes eleccions la naturalesa política que tenen. I en aquest sentit sí que són eleccions de tipus plebiscitari. No en el sentit legal que per definició aquestes eleccions no existirien així i no cal que ens hi emboliquem més en aquest debat, són eleccions de tipus plebiscitari si els partits polítics tenen el sentit polític –mai millor dit- de donar a aquestes eleccions la naturalesa que el president de la Generalitat pretén que tinguin encara que des del punt de vista del decret de convocatòria seran les eleccions que seran.

No sé si m'he explicat però intento amb aquestes paraules desfer alguns embolics interns, en els quals insisteixo, de tant en tant crec que ens perdem una mica. El sentit és aquest i per tant depèn de nosaltres.

Què en sortirà o què n'ha de sortir el 27S? Un mandat democràtic, en sortirà això. Un mandat democràtic que passarà, com deia abans, per una aposta per ser reconeguts com allò que la majoria de gent d'aquest país vulgui fer del país i de la seva estructura política. Per tant, un mandat democràtic que esperem que sigui clar, perquè si no és clar no tindrem gaires aliats que ens ajudin a interpretar aquests resultats. No entraré en el debat d'aquests últims dos mesos perquè avui dia ja no tenen sentit, oi? Però la meua obsessió des del primer dia és que el resultat a Catalunya sigui un resultat prou clar perquè no se'ns pugui discutir la seva legitimitat. Com que a més a més no ens podran discutir la legalitat de l'instrument perquè haurem utilitzat l'últim, però l'únic que tenim a les mans, que és una convocatòria d'eleccions, ara és feina nostra que no se'ns pugui discutir la legitimitat del resultat.

En algunes ocasions en aquests darrers mesos jo intentava explicar que de cara a la comunitat internacional el resultat d'aquestes eleccions havia de ser molt fàcilment mastegable, gairebé com les farinetes per a les criatures petites, que fos tant i tant mastegable que no es pogués donar cap argument per dir que allò no s'ho empassava algú. Ara tenim una possibilitat d'actuar també en aquest sentit, i per això es necessita un mandat molt clar. Si el mandat no ens porta a una majoria clara vol dir que no estem en el Punt

d'Avui... Aquí ens ho juguem tot, que no vol dir que ens ho juguem per sempre, però ens ho juguem tot i, per tant, fixeu-vos si aquestes eleccions són determinants i si són decisives. Ens ho juguem tot almenys en el curt i mitjà termini perquè, si no hem passat aquesta primera barrera, no hi ha segona porta on trucar, no ens l'obrirà ningú. Si no hi ha una majoria clara al Parlament de Catalunya, per molt que piquem a la porta dels que ens hauran de reconèixer en algun moment, no ens l'obriran perquè faltaria la legitimitat inicial. Això ho sabem prou bé.

Per tant, fixeu-vos si n'hi ha de feina per fer en relativament pocs mesos, una feinada per poc temps, perquè tots intuïm que aquesta majoria clara, amb tota claredat pot existir però que no és 100% segura, i, com que això ho intuïm, tenim el repte i l'objectiu aquí al davant i ara té data posada, i com que té data posada vol dir que no hi ha excusa, ara ja hi som, estem en el carril i el tren s'ha posat en marxa i no es pot aturar, almenys en aquest trajecte semidirecte –diguem-ho així- fins al 27S per enfilar a un altre directe que ens ha de portar on la població catalana determini que hem d'anar a partir del dia 27 de setembre.

Vaig acabant. Espero que si la majoria és clara com cal que sigui, a més ens sabrem explicar al món. Aquest serà també un repte afegit, no només haurem de tenir una majoria clara sinó que haurem de ser capaços d'explicar-nos al món. A Madrid ja sabem què passarà el 27S al vespre si hi ha una majoria clara a Catalunya a favor del procés polític o de la sobirania o de la independència, ja sabem què passarà. Se'ns negarà la legitimitat del resultat, ja han començat ara, ens diuen que aquestes són unes eleccions com sempre i nosaltres els hem d'acceptar l'argument, són com sempre des del punt de vista de la legalitat estricta però ara ja no ens poden fer el discurs de la legalitat perquè ells mateixos diuen que són com sempre, agafem la part positiva. I en canvi seran unes eleccions completament diferents de les de sempre des del punt de vista de la naturalesa política que tenen. Aquí és on ens hem de fer forts i aquí és on hem de saber comunicar bé a tota la comunitat internacional que aquestes eleccions són d'aquesta naturalesa, i que si no fossin d'aquesta naturalesa no haurien estat convocades per al 27 de setembre del 2015, sinó que s'haurien fet la tardor del 2016, que és quan tocaven unes eleccions normals al Parlament de Catalunya de naturalesa política més o menys normal com les de sempre. Això és el que haurem de saber comunicar a l'escena internacional abans del 27S i sobretot a partir del 27S. Podria ser que ens ho sabéssim comunicar molt bé nosaltres i que no fóssim capaços de convèncer els altres del que hem estat capaços de fer.

I la darrera cosa que volia comentar, estem a poques hores d'un esdeveniment que hi ha hagut a Europa, importants –no cal dir-ho- molt lligades al tema de les polítiques d'austeritat europees impulsades per alguns països, no només Alemanya però liderades per Alemanya. Per cert, parèntesi, liderades per Alemanya en qualsevol forma de govern. Perquè a mi em fa molta gràcia quan això es simplifica dient "això és la Merkel", deu ser la Merkel i tota la CDU i la CSU i el Partit Socialdemòcrata alemany, oi? Que aquests estan al Govern i tenen coalició i van ser els primers que van aplicar les polítiques d'austeritat a Alemanya i les grans reformes per aprimar el que era l'estat del benestar alemany amb el senyor Schröder. I també em fa molta gràcia perquè vaig veure fa un parell d'anys com, quan es posen etiquetes, com la gran i totpoderosa França, l'únic país que pot fer una mica d'ombra o d'equilibri a Alemanya, guanyava unes eleccions presidencials el president Hollande amb la bandera de "s'ha acabat l'austeritat, comença l'equilibri entre austeritat i creixement econòmic". I la totpoderosa França, al cap de pocs mesos era el país que anunciava les retallades més grans, amb govern estrictament del Partit Socialista. Només dic això perquè

atenció amb les etiquetes, no fos cas que ens quedéssim només amb les etiquetes, que vol dir només amb l'aparença, i que no fóssim capaços d'aprofundir una mica més sobre el que passa de veritat. Bé, a Grècia ja ho veurem, s'ha de veure aquestes properes setmanes, en aquests propers mesos.

Però el que volia dir és una altra cosa, és que a Catalunya el principal motor de regeneració política és el moviment sobiranista. En altres llocs els processos de regeneració, els motors principals de regeneració, tenen altres noms i cognoms, però a Catalunya el principal motor de regeneració democràtica és el moviment sobiranista, mentre el moviment sobiranista no perdi dues o tres facultats pròpies que li han donat una gran força i una gran moral de victòria i al mateix temps una gran legitimitat també des d'aquest punt de vista de la regeneració democràtica, que són: la radicalitat democràtica dels seus plantejaments, això és bàsic, molt important, no ho podem perdre de vista mai; l'actitud cívica i pacífica al costat de la radicalitat democràtica; i després la unitat, la màxima unitat possible diguem-ho així. Aquests tres noms propis del moviment sobiranista: unitat o suma d'esforços màxim possible; actitud cívica i pacífica sempre, en tot moment; i radicalitat democràtica dels plantejaments. La combinació d'aquests tres conceptes, d'aquestes tres virtuts, li donena aquest moviment una gran força de regeneració democràtica que probablement en altres latituds s'expressa d'altra manera i que a Catalunya es pot expressar precisament a través de la via sobiranista, i això al costat de la possible llibertat de Catalunya en aquest moment, segurament, no és poca cosa.

Moltes gràcies per la seva atenció.



Declaració institucional del president de la Generalitat

Palau de la Generalitat, 3 d'agost de 2015

Benvolgudes i benvolguts compatriotes,

Acabo de signar el decret de convocatòria de les properes eleccions al Parlament de Catalunya, que tindran lloc el diumenge 27 de setembre. Una convocatòria seguint el marc legal vigent, semblant a totes les que s'han fet fins a dia d'avui pel que fa a la forma. Tanmateix, tots sabem que aquestes eleccions seran molt diferents pel que fa al fons.

En circumstàncies normals, aquestes eleccions s'haurien d'haver fet a finals de l'any vinent. Catalunya, però, no viu en condicions normals. Quan una majoria molt clara i rotunda d'un país vol exercir el seu dret a decidir, democràticament i pacíficament, i se li nega constantment aquest dret, impeding el diàleg i la negociació, i per tant l'acord i el pacte, significa que estem davant d'una situació excepcional, que requereix decisions també excepcionals. Respondre i donar sortida a aquest anhel democràtic és el que fonamenta i justifica aquesta convocatòria d'eleccions anticipades al Parlament.

Ara farà dos anys vaig deixar escrit en un debat de política general que estava disposat a fer ús de la facultat legal que em pertoca d'avançar les eleccions si l'Estat pretenia silenciar la veu i el vot del poble de Catalunya. Volíem una consulta sobre el nostre futur polític, i la volíem legal i acordada. La negativa total del Govern espanyol fins i tot a parlar-ne precipita ara la decisió anunciada des de fa temps.

Com a President de Catalunya faig una crida a què responsablement totes les forces i coalicions polítiques presentin les seves propostes i els seus projectes per al futur d'aquest país. Totes les propostes, mentre respectin els drets humans, són legítimes en democràcia i són només els ciutadans lliures amb el seu vot els que poden fer-les possibles. La meua crida és a respectar, tots, el que els ciutadans decideixin, i a assumir el compromís de trobar les vies polítiques i legals per implementar el mandat democràtic de les urnes.

En les properes setmanes el món ens tornarà a observar. Siguem-ne conscients i tornem a oferir la nostra millor cara. Fem de la legítima confrontació de propostes un gran exercici de diàleg.

Som un país plural i divers. Som un país amb una història mil·lenària, fruit del treball de dones i homes que generació rere generació han construït Catalunya i l'han estimada. Som un país fet per persones d'orígens, parles i creences diferents, que han vist en aquesta terra l'oportunitat de créixer, desenvolupar-se i de donar un futur als seus fills i als seus néts. Som una nació mil·lenària que té dret a decidir el seu futur, som una nació de persones lliures que ens hem guanyat el dret a decidir com volem ser i com volem governar-nos. Contraposem models, defensem-los apassionadament; fem del civisme i el respecte a l'opinió de l'altre la característica de la nostra democràcia; fem de la convivència en la diferència, un actiu; de la pluralitat i el respecte, virtut; i del dret a somniar i fer possible el

futur que volem, un horitzó d'esperança per construir un país millor. Una vida millor per a cadascun de nosaltres.

Penso, humilment, que podem fer del proper 27 de setembre una data assenyalada en la nostra història. La democràcia és ara la protagonista. Les urnes, els vots i la decisió lliure, els instruments. Un futur fet de democràcia, justícia i llibertat, n'és l'horitzó. Assumim cadascun de nosaltres la responsabilitat i el protagonisme que el moment demana i fem-nos-en dignes.

Visca Catalunya!